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MISSION PROBLEMS IN JAPAN

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL

LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE
THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
HOLLAND, MICHIGAN

BY THE

REV. ALBERTUS PIETERS, M. A.

TWENTY YEARS A MEMBER OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH MISSION IN JAPAN

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

No one can proceed far in the perusal of these Lectures without discovering that they constitute a vigorous and a strong discussion of some of the most important of missionary questions. They are also a historical presentation of the development of these problems in Japan by one who has had a personal and a controlling share in the issues. The discussion is therefore vitalized by personal experience and the interest is thoroughly aroused.

The author would not claim that all who read must give assent to his arguments, nor does the writer of this introductory note find himself in entire agreement with all the positions taken. But all who read will find themselves affected by the strength of the arguments presented and enriched by the information given.

This is in a very real sense a strong book written by one who knows the conditions and has felt the environment amidst which he has rendered an important missionary service. As such it carries its own commendation.

W. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

New York, April, 1912.

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MISSION PROBLEMS IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I.

The Missionary Purpose.

The subject of the present lecture is the purpose of foreign missions in general. What is our work designed to accomplish?

This question is fundamental to the understanding of all missionary problems. If properly answered, the reply will enable us to understand the specific character of missions as distinct from other activities of the church. It will also help us to draw the line between Domestic Missions and Foreign Missions. It will indicate to us the difference between legitimate and illegitimate methods, and especially will it furnish us with the means of measuring our progress and deciding when our task is accomplished.

Our starting point in this inquiry is the command of our Lord to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. This is a great missionary text, and has been well called "the Marching Orders of the Church." It is, however, much more than a missionary text. It includes the whole activity of the Christian church, in all ages, in all countries, and under all conditions. There is nothing to which the church may legitimately set her hand that is not in obedience to this command. The work at home, no less than the work abroad, is included in it. What is stated here is the whole, of which the missionary work is but a part. All replies to our question that are merely paraphrases

of the great commission, such as that it is our purpose to make Jesus Christ known to the world, to save the souls of men, to preach the gospel to every creature, to evangelize the world, etc., fail to be satisfactory statements of the aim of missions because they are not sufficiently distinctive.

To find such a distinctive statement, we must divide the work of the church of Christ into two parts, the activity of the church within herself, and her activity without her own bounds. If, now, we bear in mind our Reformed position in regard to the visible church, the line of demarkation will become tolerably clear. The church consists of believers and their children, of all such as are included in the covenant and are entitled to baptism as the sign and seal of that covenant. Without are those who either have never had any relation to the church, i. e. heathen, Mohammedans, and Jews, or who have deliberately or negligently renounced such relation, as seen in the irreligious communities and classes in Christian lands. To this class belong also those organizations, if any, which bear the Christian name, but are devoid of the characteristics which distinguish the true church of God.

Within the bounds of the visible church, varied, numerous, and important activities claim her attention. The public worship must be maintained, believers are to be edified in the faith, erring members must be labored with, the sick are to be visited, children must be instructed, in Sunday-schools or in catechetical classes, young people must be trained to Christian service through various agencies, Christian literature must be

produced and distributed, the charity of the brethren must be wisely dispensed, schools and colleges must educate the youth, seminaries must train the future ministry, churches unable to bear their own burdens must be assisted, and in numberless other ways the principles of religion must be applied to the life of the individual, of the family, and of the community. All of this internal activity, varied and important as it is, finds its inspiration in those pregnant words: "Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you." In round numbers, nine-tenths of the financial strength, and much more than that proportion of the time and talent of the church are devoted to this "ad intra" labor. By means of it the church is sustaining and nourishing her own life.

In distinct contrast with this is the work of the church in which she turns herself to those who are without, sending her messengers into the highways and by-ways and extending to all a loving invitation to come into the fold. This is the activity "ad extra" and this alone is in any proper sense missionary work. To be sure, the internal and external labors of the church, although thus distinguished in thought, are frequently commingled in practice. Many a pastor devotes much time and strength to reaching irreligious persons and classes in the community where his church is located, and many a missionary busies himself with the internal affairs of the church in the days of her infancy. Nevertheless this distinction between the two kinds of effort is fundamental, and a correct understanding of it is essential to the solution of not a few vexed questions of missionary policy.

The missionary as an individual is a member of the church and thus is within it, but his official work is outside of it, just as a soldier campaigning in a foreign country is himself a citizen of his own land, but carries on his work beyond her bounds. Hence the work of the missionary is a temporary phenomenon in the life of the church. It belongs to the imperfect, not to the perfect state of the church. When all countries are Christianized, there will be no more missionaries, but the office of pastor and teacher will abide so long as this dispensation continues. The missionaries are, so to speak, the military arm of the church, which loses its importance when a country is fully subdued, while the regular pastorate corresponds to the civil government, which permanently assumes the direction of affairs.

Mission work being, then, the "ad extra" work of the church, as distinguished from that which is "ad intra," what is the proper line of distinction between Domestic Missions and Foreign Missions, as two cognate branches of mission work? If the terms are used in the strictly scientific sense, the difference is merely geographical, and hence of practical but not of scientific interest. Work among the unassimilated foreign classes in our large cities, among the mountain whites, among unevangelized Jews, Mormons, negroes, and Indians, among heathen Chinese or Japanese in this country, as well as in cities or districts where the church is not yet established, or where the inhabitants acknowledge no relation to her, is really mission work, as well as similar activity abroad. Scientific ob-

jection can be made to the application of the same term to the work by which financially strong churches extend assistance to their weaker sisters, for the maintenance of the regular ordinances of religion. This belongs distinctly to the "ad intra," not to the "ad extra" activity of the church, and might be equally necessary even if all men everywhere had come within the circle of the covenant. The term "Domestic Missions" should therefore be limited to that which is properly "ad extra" to the church, although within the political boundaries of the country, while some such term as "Church Sustentation" should be applied to the financial support of the weaker congregations.

We are now ready for the question: "When a religious denomination enters a new field, such as Japan was in 1859, what does it propose to accomplish there?" It is evident that the correct reply to this inquiry will describe such a condition as, when it is attained, will justify the church in withdrawing her forces, with the thankful declaration that, by the grace of God, her work in that land is finished, because her purpose has been accomplished.

Some of the answers proposed need but a passing notice, being either quite inadequate or wholly erroneous. It is not our object to civilize the people or to educate them, to change their social customs or political institutions, to help them medically or in any other department of philanthropy. Our aim is not to destroy their ancestral religion, or even to elevate their moral life. Some of these things may incidentally result from our labors, but they are not our aim.

Neither do we look forward to converting the entire population. However desirable that may be, we have no reason to think that such a thing will ever take place in any country, at least not in this dispensation.

There are two solutions of our problem differing widely from these, in that they are put forward by well-informed persons as the result of careful study. They may be called "The Church Establishment Theory" and "The Evangelization Theory," although these designations do not fully indicate their character.

Dr. E. A. Lawrence, who, in his valuable work, "Modern Missions in the East," gives very clear expression to the church establishment theory, informs us that this solution was recognized as the correct one in a tract published by the American Board in 1856, and that it was expounded a little later by the Rev. Henry Venn, former secretary of the Church Missionary Society. It was advocated also by Dr. Rufus Anderson, one of the most noted secretaries of the American Board in his "Lectures on Missions," and particularly affirmed in connection with the work in Japan by Dr. G. W. Knox, writing in the Presbyterian Review, 1886.

Dr. Anderson says:

"The grand object of foreign missions is to plant and multiply churches composed of native converts, each church complete in itself, with presbyters of the same race, left to determine their ecclesiastical relations for themselves, with the aid of judicious advice from their missionary fathers."

In another place the same writer says of the Apostle Paul:

"When he had formed local churches, he did not hesitate to ordain presbyters over them, the best he could find, and then to throw upon the churches thus officered the responsibilities of self-government, self-support, and self-propagation."

It may be remarked in passing that this is the earliest use I have met of the phrase, "self-government, self-support, and self-propagation" which has since become a stock expression.

It is evident from this and other passages that Dr. Anderson was speaking of local churches on the one hand and of individual missionaries on the other. A more developed view, but also in some respects more open to objection, is that of Dr. Lawrence, who says:

"God's great agent for the spread of his kingdom is the church. In every land he operates through the church, and missions operate distinctly for the church. They have both their source and their aim in that. They are the reproductive faculty of the parent church, the constituting agency of the native church. Every church should work out into a mission, every mission should work out into a church. The conversion of souls is a necessary part of this. The primary aim of missions is to preach the gospel in all lands, the ultimate aim is to plant the church in all lands. When they have done that, their work is accomplished. Then the church of each land, thus planted, must win its own people to Christ. The converts must convert, the new church must evangelize and Christianize. India, China, Japan, are each to be turned to Christ, not by missions, but by the Indian, the Chinese, the Japanese churches, when these churches shall have been securely planted by missions."

Dr. Lawrence here quotes with approval the words of the Rev. Henry Venn, who says:

"The object of missions is the development of native churches, with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system. When this settlement has been effected, the missions will have attained its euthanasia, and the missionary and all missionary agency can be transferred to the regions beyond."

Again Dr. Lawrence says:

"Missions are but a step, although the first and, it may be, the longest single step in the conversion of the world. The main part of the task devolves upon the native church in each land. Our part is to organize individuals whom we may convert into an indigenous, independent, and expansive church, which shall be the type of a native and productive Christianity. We are to found this church upon Christ and the apostles, to train it from the start in the principles of self-reliance, self-control, and self-propagation. We are to develop its ministry, found its institutions, organize its work."

Dr. Knox's view is precisely similar to this. He says:

"Our missionaries organized the United Church of Christ in Japan. Our mission aim is the organization and training of this church. With its establishment our work will be complete, and foreign missions will be transformed into the home missions of the Japanese church. . . . The commission of the church is to preach the truth to every creature, but the distinctive aim of foreign missions is the organization of the native church."

It will be noticed that the term "Church" is used

by both Dr. Lawrence and Dr. Knox not as meaning a local congregation, but in the wider sense of a number of such congregations united under a scheme of church government into an ecclesiastical body, a Christian denomination.

This view of the aim of Foreign Missions contains much that is valuable. It properly lays great emphasis upon the native church. Thus conceived, mission work finds its end, not in the conversion of unconnected units of humanity, but in the establishment of institutions that shall outlive their founders and bless the generations yet to come. He who thus understands the missionary purpose will never demand long lists of converts as evidence of success: he will look rather to the organization, vitality, and spiritual power of the native church.

This solution, however, has also serious defects, if it is accepted as a complete and adequate statement of the missionary purpose; as a missionary in Japan has especial reason to know, for in that country it was for years the dominant theory of missionary work, and as such it led to false hopes of speedy success, produced discouragement among the workers, confused the sphere of the church and of the missionary organizations, cultivated among the native leaders expectations that could not be realized, checked the despatch of necessary reinforcements, and altogether resulted in no little injury to the work. Indeed, it furnishes us with a remarkable illustration of the evil effects of a conception of our purpose which, in spite of all the good it contains, is so inadequate as to be essentially false.

Those of us who were reading the missionary magazines twenty years ago, or who heard the missionary addresses of Dr. Verbeck, Dr. Knox and others in the latter eighties, will distinctly remember how rosy the future of missionary work in Japan appeared at that time.

Dr. Verbeck said, in 1889:

"I am less sanguine than many others, but it is my confident belief that if the missionary societies are faithful to their charge up to the end of this century, you need not, after 1890, send any more missionaries to Japan. You will need to support the men already there, and the institutions, for a while, but no new men will need to go. The finishing up of the work can be safely left to the foreign force which will be by that time there, working in conjunction with the ever increasing number of native pastors and evangelists. Some put 1890 as the date, some 1895, but no one puts it later than 1900." (Gospel in All Lands, 1889, p. 411).

It is but just to the memory of Dr. Verbeck to say that he heartily repented, later, of having written such things, and that he did his best to remedy the evil they had caused.

The Twelfth Annual Report of the Council of Missions, an annual assembly of the Presbyterian and Reformed missionaries, contains the following expressions of confidence in the speedy completion of the missionary task in Japan:

"Our present force is enough to reach every part of Japan. . . . With our present centers we can conveniently do all that remains for us to do. . . . With wise plans, with earnest work, with the co-operation of missions, with the

union of the Japanese church, most of all, with the continued presence of the spirit of our Lord, we may anticipate the close of this foreign missionary enterprise by the close of the nineteenth century."

Reading such utterances today, nearly a quarter of a century later, when no one professes to anticipate the speedy close of the foreign missionary enterprise in Japan, we stand amazed, and wonder how such ideas ever came to be entertained. The explanation of this mystery is that underneath all of these confident expressions lay the theory of missions we are discussing, the theory that the purpose of missions is to plant the church, and nothing more. The leading missionaries were not so ill informed as to think that the country was then, or would be by the year 1900, fully evangelized, or anything like it. What they did expect was that by such a date we should have in Japan Protestant Christian churches, including all evangelical bodies, with a membership of a hundred thousand communicants. They expected that this body would be fairly well supplied with an educated and devoted ministry, would be sound in the essentials of the faith, and would be supplied with a Christian literature and Christian institutions. "When such conditions prevail," they said, "we may call our work done. We can then gradually withdraw our missionaries and commit the work of evangelizing the rest of the population, however great, to the Japanese churches. We may still need to assist them with considerable sums of money, but the whole administration of the work, and responsibility for it, shall be

theirs." The event has shown that this expectation was over sanguine. Instead of a community of one hundred thousand communicants in 1900, we have now, ten years later, but sixty thousand. The confident expressions of speedy victory, however, were based not only upon what they expected the church to be, but also upon what they considered to be the ultimate aim of mission work. The cry that the missionary enterprise is approaching its completion is now practically unheard either in Japan or in Korea, although the conditions supposed to justify withdrawal of the missionary force are now more nearly present in both countries than they were in Japan in 1889. The reason for this is that this theory that church establishment is the sole aim of missions is no longer dominant among the missionaries.

The reasons why it has lost influence so largely, although still held by some missionaries and still far too influential with the Boards in New York, are as follows:

(1) Because it fails to satisfy the evangelistic spirit.

Suppose that the Japanese church had attained by this time the growth that was expected, would any missionary upon whose heart the burden of souls was laid be content to go home and leave behind him large districts and numberless villages in which the message had never yet been heard, in the confidence that sooner or later the Japanese church would reach them? Indeed, it may fairly be asked whether the Church of Christ in Japan does not today present the very pic-

ture which Dr. Venn drew as the "euthanasia" of the missionary work, when the missionary and all missionary agency could be transferred to the regions beyond. He says this must take place when the native church is self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. This is true to-day of the Church of Christ in Japan. Not a single one of its congregations but is self-supporting, and for several years no missionary or missionary agency has directly or indirectly any direction of its affairs. It is completely self-governing. Its missions dot the empire of Japan, Formosa, Korea and Manchuria. It can truly be said to be self-propagating. Yet can any heart that yearns over a lost race be satisfied to withdraw from an empire in which heathenism is still everywhere dominant, just because the church has been securely planted there? This idea that our aim is merely to establish the church is far too cold a theory. It does not glow with the love of Christ and anxiety for the souls of men. It does not ring with the enthusiasm that has a message of light and life to bring to a dying world.

(2) This theory fails to reckon with the vast internal problems of the native church. When such a church is organized in a non-Christian land, the distinction of "ad intra" and "ad extra" labor at once arises. All the different forms of church activity are called into being. There is scarcely a problem to be solved or a work to be done within the church here in a Christian land that does not occur on the mission field, while as a rule the work, if it is to be well done, requires more time and labor instead of less. Take

the work of instructing and edifying believers, for instance, what is likely to be more difficult, to do that in a congregation of people acquainted with the gospel from childhood, or to do it among those almost wholly ignorant of Scripture doctrine and history? This internal work is everywhere the first drain upon the strength of the church. By the necessity of the case it takes precedence of the "ad extra" work, no less in Japan and in China than here. If, now, we observe that nine-tenths of the resources of the American churches are required for this department of the work, we may be pretty sure that the churches in Japan will need no less. Moreover, grave questions of discipline, creed, organization, worship, education, etc., present themselves, and claim attention. The missionaries may indicate the principles involved in their solution, but the application of the principles is so intimately connected with racial peculiarities and social customs that the permanent settlement can come only from the church itself. Can such a church, with such a heavy burden, be left to evangelize a large and growing population? This theory expects too much from the native church. It lays upon the shoulders of a child a burden that would stagger a man. It under-estimates the work to be done and over-estimates the reinforcement brought us by the infant church. We cannot accept it as a correct and adequate solution of the problem.

At quite the other extreme from this "Church Establishment Theory" lies a view of missionary work extensively found among youthful and superficially

informed people. We have called it the "Evangelization Theory," because it well-nigh loses sight of everything else in its enthusiasm for the immediate evangelization of the whole world. It is almost universal among members of the Student Volunteer Movement who have never been on the field, and much of the literature of the Laymen's Missionary Movement is influenced by it. It has not been so exactly and authoritatively formulated by students of the missionary problem, and hence is less tangible for the purposes of this discussion. The most prominent exponent of it, although in its most moderate form, is Mr. John R. Mott, who has written a book with the title: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." In general it may be defined as that view which considers it obligatory upon the church and possible for the church to evangelize the world in this generation. From much that is said and written, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that this is not only the duty, but the whole duty, of this generation of believers, and certainly one is not disposed to add to a programme already so extensive.

However, evangelization is not to be superficially understood. Mr. Mott says:

"The evangelization of the world should not be regarded as an end in itself. The church will not have fulfilled her task when the gospel has been proclaimed to all men. Such evangelization must be followed by baptism of converts, by their organization into churches, by building them up in knowledge, faith and character, and by enlisting and training them in service. While the missionary enterprise should not be

diverted from the immediate and controlling aim of preaching the gospel where Christ has not been named, and while this work should have the right of way as the most urgent part of our task, it must ever be looked upon as but a means to the mighty and inspiring object of enthroning Christ in individual life, in family life, in social life, in national life, in international relations, in every relationship of mankind, and, to this end, of planting and developing in all non-Christian lands self-supporting, self-directing, and self-propagating churches."

Superficially considered, this view, with its immediate and controlling aim of preaching the gospel where Christ has not been named, and its ultimate aim of making Christianity effective in the national life by planting and developing churches, bears a close resemblance to the other theory, which also says: "The primary aim of missions is to preach the gospel in all lands, the ultimate aim is to plant the church in all lands;" but the difference between the two is profound.

The one proposes to preach the gospel to all lands, to be sure, but not to all the people, only so far as is necessary to gather and train a church, to which the rest of the responsibility for evangelization may then be committed, while the other intends not only to evangelize the entire population, but to do this within a generation, and afterwards to organize churches, as a means of rendering the conquest complete and permanent. The former chills the evangelistic spirit by declaring it to be no part of the aim of missions to preach the gospel to every creature; the latter glows with evangelistic fire, and allures us by telling us that the completion of the whole evangelistic task is possi-

ble in our own time. The former lays upon the native church the crushing burden of evangelization from which it excuses the churches at home, the latter scarcely recognizes that the native church as such has any part in evangelization at all. Between the two, if obliged to choose, I greatly prefer this view, as moderately stated by Mr. Mott.

And yet, I am not prepared to accept this as the true answer to our question "What is the Missionary Purpose?" Neither am I able to admit that "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation," which is the watchword of this whole school, is a legitimate motto to inscribe upon our banners. My objections to it are, first, that it is illegitimate to insert the words "in this generation," and, secondly, that this view lays too little emphasis upon the native church as not only a valuable, but an indispensable ally in the work.

To say that we should aim to evangelize the world in this generation, is to express the conviction that the thing is possible. Such a conviction must be based upon either reason or faith, but it is my opinion that upon neither of these grounds can we believe such a thing possible. We have no right here to appeal to the omnipotence of God, since miraculous interposition is not to be expected. The promise of God to be with his church in this great work contains no time element, either directly or indirectly, and an appeal to faith not based either upon a divine promise or upon sound reason is presumption instead of faith.

Much is said by some writers of the resources of the church. They are no doubt great, and wonderful

blessings would be enjoyed if they were fully employed in the Lord's work. Great as they are, however, there are other things to be considered, and there are processes to be gone through with in which the lapse of considerable time is a necessary element. Some of the literature of the Laymen's Movement would give one the impression that it is altogether merely a matter of arithmetic. So many men, so many dollars, and the whole business will be finished in so many years! Thus one hears now and again of calculations as to how many men and how much money would be necessary to evangelize a given country in thirty, forty, or fifty years. Our mission, a number of years ago, was requested by the Board to submit a statement indicating how many men were necessary to evangelize our field. I proposed respectfully to inform the Board that no one was wise enough to answer such questions, but the mission thought better of it and prepared some sort of a reply.

I do not hesitate to say, however, that no calculations of this kind are worth much, by whomever prepared. There are too many unknown elements, which nevertheless are decisive of the issue. Let us take only one, the native church. As I protested a little while ago against an overestimate of this church and its official responsibility, so now it becomes my duty to protest against an underestimate of it as an essential element in the case. Great as are the resources of the church in Christian lands, it is clear to me that it would be impossible for it to bring the gospel to every creature without the conversion of large numbers of

men and the organization of Christian institutions, and that not after the completion of evangelization or subordinate to it, but proceeding step by step, in intimate association with it, as in fact, indispensable to it. To be convinced of this we have only to glance at the necessity for a large number of native helpers, both paid and unpaid. Mr. Mott estimates that for every thousand missionaries we require ten thousand paid helpers, besides multitudes of volunteer workers. But if we are to have these, we clearly need large numbers of conversions, greater than anything we have had hitherto. Otherwise, whence the able and consecrated leaders, whence the multitude of unpaid messengers? Men are not eligible to this work unless they are distinguished for good intellectual qualities, faith, piety and zeal. Such men are, of course, only a relatively small proportion of the church. If there be hundreds of thousands of these there must be millions of church members, from whom they are chosen. This need of large numbers of genuine converts, organized immediately into churches, must not be minimized, for without it the evangelization of any given district is impossible, at least in any real and permanent sense. For, to mention only one thing, suppose that by the exertion of all our forces we did succeed in evangelizing the world without a great many conversions or without organization, how long would it stay evangelized? Would not the whole work have to be done over again in the next generation, nay, in the next decade? We should resemble an invading army that is strong enough to defeat the enemy at every point,

but not strong enough to hold the country that has been fought over, and that is, therefore, constantly obliged to repeat its victories. There is no progress in that. If we could do such a thing, it would not be worth the doing.

The report of the Cleveland Student Volunteer Convention says of the watchword:

"It does not mean the conversion of the world, because the acceptance of Christ rests with the hearer, not with the speaker."

And Mr. Mott says:

"Our part consists of bringing the gospel to bear on unsaved men. The results are with the men whom we would reach and with the Spirit of God."

Precisely. The extent to which and the rapidity with which they will listen and believe and join in the work of evangelizing their fellows are unknown quantities, and yet these are the most important of all human factors, and until you know them, all your calculations of money and men and time required are nothing more than vanity. Thus the whole programme of the evangelization of the world in this generation goes overboard. It charms by its enthusiasm and allures with its rosy promise of a dash to victory, but it will not bear analysis in the face of practical missionary experience. So far as the enthusiasm of the Laymen's Movement is based upon the hopes this theory has inspired, I fear that it will ultimately do no little harm, for after twenty or thirty years they will begin to ask

us why we have not made good, and I fear we missionaries will get the blame for not carrying out the programme that has been mapped out for us.

What, then, is the true object of our work?

It is neither, on the one hand, organization without complete evangelization, nor, on the other, such evangelization with organization ignored or relegated to a subordinate place. It is found rather in the indissoluble union of the two, distinguishable in thought, but not in practice: evangelization and organization, one and inseparable, now and unto the end of our work. Neither is entitled to constant precedence over the other. It depends upon circumstances. At one time preaching to the heathen will be the more urgent part of our task, at another time it will yield the right of way to instructing and organizing converts. Evangelization will push ahead into new regions as fast as the old are occupied, but never too fast for organization to follow close upon it. The army cannot advance with the speed of the cavalry, or even the infantry, but must wait for the supply trains. It is the same in our work. The missionary who gets evangelization too far ahead of church organization is like the general whose lines of communication are too long to be well protected. He must fall back, or his labor will be lost.

The purpose of our missionary work is thus to reproduce abroad the conditions existing in our own country, where no considerable district and no numerous or important class of society is out of touch with the Christian church. To state the missionary purpose

in a single word, it is not merely to plant the church in a country, nor merely to evangelize the present generation of its inhabitants: It is to *Christianize* that country. I mean by this to establish and so to distribute the institutions of the church that the gospel shall be kept before practically the whole population of a given field all the time, so that the cases shall be comparatively few where a person can grow from childhood to mature age without having the knowledge that is necessary to faith. To use a military term, it is the "effective occupation" of a territory by an invading army. When we have in this manner garrisoned a field with Christian camps in sufficient numbers and with sufficient appliances to bring the gospel to the attention of each new generation as it appears upon the scene, then our task in that field is accomplished, and not till then. We thus discharge our obligations, not only to our own generation, but also to those who come after us. As Mr. Robert E. Speer has well said: "Our duty lies certainly to our own generation, but it does not stop there."

Thus conceived, here are three stages in the missionary work among any people. First comes the time when there is nothing but evangelization, in one of its many forms, preaching, teaching, healing, visiting, publishing, etc. This is followed by a period when the chief attention of the missionary must be devoted to the organization and training of the native church. Finally comes the longest period of all, that in which, side by side with the church thus founded and trained, the missionaries undertake to evangelize the entire

population. Such work belongs no more to the church in that land, in its organized capacity, than it does to the church in America, working through its representatives in the field. It belongs most to the one that can best spare the strength required for it. In this work the chief part will at first be that of the foreign church; later, as the native church grows stronger, its share will increase, but neither will be justified in withdrawing until the work is practically done; for so long as there exists any portion of the population that the foreign church can but the native church cannot immediately evangelize, the primary obligation of the command of Christ remains in force.

The time for withdrawal will be when liberty has not only been proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof, but when provision has also been made for the permanence of the proclamation, by establishing local organizations everywhere. Then organized heathenism will have disappeared. Instead of the village temple, will arise the village church; instead of the household gods and their worship will be found the family altar. Then the church of such a land may safely be left to accomplish her own proper task, internally, to nourish her children, externally, to overcome the lingering vestiges of opposition and to apply the Christian principles to the national life, until every thought has been made subject to the obedience of Christ.

It would be pleasant if I could hold out to you the prospect that so grand a purpose can be realized in a brief space of time. But this I cannot do. If the ex-

perience of the past means anything, it means that the struggle will be long, and that the goal is distant. The progress of the kingdom in heathen lands hitherto exhibits unmistakably the phenomena of growth, and when you say growth, you speak of something that must be waited for. God has a process for making oaks. It is not to be buried. He who desires an oak must plant his acorn and be content to wait.

So let us, also, my brethren, not as impatient children, but as thoughtful and determined men, gird ourselves and lead on our churches to this great work. If it seem sometimes that the promise of God tarries long, we may not on that account lower our ideal, nor dare we hold out to our people unfounded hopes of speedy victory. But what we dare to do is this: To perform our work, steadfastly, unfalteringly, trustfully, looking away from all present things to the blessed assurance of that time when the idols shall be utterly abolished, and when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the bottom of the sea. If, like the patriarchs of old, we have not the joy of beholding the fulfillment of these promises, yet it is much to have seen them and greeted them from afar.

CHAPTER II.

The Conditions Under Which the Missionary Purpose is to be Accomplished in Japan.

Although Christianity is a divine institution, bringing into the world truth and grace, life and light from no created source, but from the Father of mercies, by Jesus Christ, His Son, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, yet its manifestation stands in intimate relation to its earthly surroundings. There is a duality about it that is seen both in its inner nature and in its outward form. It is genuinely divine, but no less genuinely human. The union of the two natures in the person of the Redeemer finds its corollary in the nature of the Holy Scriptures, and no less in the historical development of the Christian church.

That there is a direct activity of God in the missionary work is, it seems to me, too often forgotten. We ought never to think or speak of a spiritual work as if it were subject absolutely to the ordinary laws of cause and effect. There is behind all outward conditions the will and work of God, whose plans are beyond human calculation, and whose leadings frequently upset out most careful reckonings. But while this supreme sovereignty of the Heavenly Father is at all times to be remembered by the worker in His kingdom, trustfully in adversity, thankfully in prosperity, we may never allow ourselves on that account to lose sight of the human element in our work, the element

that connects it with the racial, political, moral and social conditions of the men among whom we desire to set up the kingdom. It is to this phase of the question that we are to devote our attention to-day. Our view in the previous lecture was general, for the purpose of the missionary work is the same everywhere: in the present discussion and hereafter it will be strictly particular, for the outward conditions that we must meet in the accomplishment of our work are found to vary widely with the different countries where we undertake the work.

I. General Conditions.

The general conditions in Japan may safely be called remarkably favorable. The country in which we are to work out our problem of Christianization is not large, the total area being not far from that of California, or equal to the combined areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, and half of Illinois. Every part is easily accessible by water, rail or by other means of conveyance. The race that inhabits these islands is compact and homogeneous, the customs, ideas, and language being everywhere practically identical. Travel from one province to another, and even from end to end of the country to another is remarkably common. Not only the government, but also the various popular interests, are centralized in the capital to a marked degree. There is thus nothing of the isolation that is complained of in the provinces of China. Neither do the dialects give us any trouble. There are certain variations in the common speech, notably in the prov-

ince of Satsuma, where even a Japanese from another part of the country finds it difficult to understand the peasantry; but the national language is everywhere understood and spoken by the intelligent and taught in the schools. The only thing to be complained of in the language is its extreme difficulty for a foreigner. Taking the word language in its widest sense, as embracing all the varieties of oral and written communication, it may well be doubted whether there is any other to compare with it. Dr. Hepburn, the great lexicographer, who came to Japan after several years' residence in China, says of it: "It is a difficult language, much more so, in my opinion, than the Chinese." This judgment is invariably confirmed by missionaries who have been transferred from China to Japan or the reverse.

The Japanese are a civilized people. Almost the only thing that strikes the observer as uncivilized is the indecent exposure of the body. For the rest, Japan bears everywhere the marks of civilized society, in the security of life and property, under the protection of excellent laws, well administered, in the refinement that marks social intercourse, in her sanitary regulations, in knowledge of medicine and of the fine arts, in her literature, in her educational system, in division of labor, in the use of labor-saving machinery, in her commercial and banking systems, in the easy communication between all parts of the country by good roads, railways, postoffice and telegraphs, and in the superb organization of her police, army and navy.

The Japanese are an intelligent people. Ability to

read and write the simpler forms of the language is almost universal. The common school and the newspaper penetrate to the remotest recesses of the country. More than three thousand newspapers and magazines are in circulation.

Japan is also an independent, warlike, and powerful nation. No foreign foe has ever so much as set foot upon the soil of the empire, and in no war has she ever been defeated. We are proud of our independence, purchased, as it was, with a heavy price, but Japan was free born and has remained free. Naturally, the people are very self-conscious, very proud of their independence, and extremely sensitive. Such pride has its objectionable side, and the missionary who would work among such people has to keep himself in the background with self-forgetful love and wisdom; but this characteristic of the people is also a great blessing, in that it prevents any of the servility and helpless dependence on the missionary that are the curse of missionary work in some countries. The military power of the Japanese empire also relieves our work of all that suspicion of hidden political purpose that so unjustly, but so naturally, attaches to missionaries laboring among the weaker races.

Japan is fortunate, also, in that the wealth of the country is rather evenly distributed. The many small manufacturers and shopkeepers are one of the striking features of a Japanese town. In the production of tea, silk, matting, and other staples, one meets with but few large factories. Such work is carried on in numerous small establishments in towns and villages.

The evils of crowded life, industrial slavery, and the strife between labor and capital have hitherto been escaped. These conditions are changing, however, with the increasing use of labor-saving machinery.

The population is not less evenly distributed than the wealth. It has not yet been gathered into a few large cities, but is found mainly in small villages of a few scores of houses each. The farmers do not live on their farms, but in such villages. The result is to render the people physically and geographically far more accessible than if they were either in congested centers or subject to the isolation of farm life as we know it. On the other hand, it operates also to produce a strong local organization and a fossilized local opinion, which very greatly hampers the stranger who strives to gain entrance, be he Japanese or foreign, and deprives the individual to a remarkable degree of his personal liberty to modify his ancestral religious connections.

A point of special importance in the social life of any people is the position of women. This is far better in Japan than in any other non-Christian land. Her legal rights are behind those of our own country only in one conspicuous point, that she has no legal remedy if her husband is unfaithful to her. The popular standard of opinion and practice, however, lays considerably behind the law. Practically, there are serious evils yet in the position of women. Marriage is too greatly a matter of business, to be regulated without the consent of the bride. Mutual affection is not given its rightful place. Divorce and concubinage are

in consequence fearfully common, and other deplorable vices undermine the permanence and sanctity of family life. Yet while the position of woman is far from being what it should be, on the whole we may be thankful that it is so good. Conditions in this respect are constantly improving. Women are entirely accessible to the gospel, and if reasonable care is used, may be reached by men as well as by women.

The family is an element in the social structure of Japan that deserves careful attention. As embodied in the Civil Code, which went into operation in 1899, it is the most prominent feature of Old Japan that has been deliberately preserved. The family, in the sense of consisting of husband, wife, and children, only these and no more, is of comparatively little importance in Japan. It exists as a subordinate part of the larger group of relatives united under the headship of one person, called a "House." In certain respects, the relation of a person to the head of a "House" takes precedence of his relation to his father and mother. The "House" may be composed of several families, or of one family, or of two or more individuals who, under our social system would have no relation to each other at all. It is a survival under modern conditions of the patriarchal, or clan system. It is an anachronism in a country like New Japan, and we may expect its eventual disappearance, but for the present it is too deeply rooted in popular esteem to be set aside. It is practically a considerable hindrance to our work, in restricting the liberty even of the adult

individual; and lies at the basis of some of the objectionable features of the existing marriage customs.

When I delivered a similar course of lectures ten years ago I devoted considerable space to the political conditions, and expressed the apprehension that, in spite of the theoretically perfect religious liberty enjoyed in Japan, the government might in various ways hamper our educational and evangelistic work, not necessarily from a desire to restrict the spread of Christianity, but from the natural tendency of a bureaucratic government to regulate everything. I am happy to say that the developments of the past ten years have not confirmed these apprehensions. What the future may contain we do not know, but for the present we may dismiss the whole subject of our relations to the government with the thankful acknowledgment that we could ask nothing better than a continuance of present conditions.

II. Religious Conditions.

Important as are the conditions thus far discussed, in their bearing upon the Christianization of Japan, they touch our problem in a far less direct manner than that to which we now turn, viz.: the religious and moral condition of the people. As we have certain doctrines to teach them and certain permanent institutions to organize among them, we are deeply interested in knowing how far such ideas or methods are foreign to the Japanese mind and in how far they have been prepared for the reception of Christianity by their own ancient beliefs and practices. The Apos-

tle Paul, in the epistle to the Galatians, speaking of the rudiments of religious knowledge which his converts had long outgrown, but were in danger of returning to, seems to include in that term not only Judaism, but also heathenism, as having to a real, though small degree prepared their minds for the reception of the truth. That the same thing has taken place in Japan becomes evident when we analyze the systems current there, to discover what elements of moral and religious knowledge each has taught the Japanese people.

The Japanese have two religions, Shinto and Buddhism. Some scholars assert that Confucianism also has filled the place of a religion to choice souls among the Japanese, but this class was at best small, and is now practically extinct, so that we need not consider Confucianism under the head of religions.

Shinto is the immemorial belief of the Japanese, and is a compound of two kinds of polytheism, viz.: nature worship and ancestor worship, culminating in the reverence paid to the Imperial line, both dead and living. This, sometimes, among the more thoughtful, passes into an apotheosis of the state that reminds us of some phases of thought in ancient Greece and Rome. In this worship of the spirits of the dead, the ideas of the existence of the soul and of its immortality are necessarily involved. Shinto has the merit of being in some sense a spiritual religion, for it makes no use of images, the absence of which is one of the most striking features of a Shinto temple. Worship is thus directed towards unseen deities and spirits. Shinto has many prayers and sacred hymns, most of

them in the ancient language, which is not well understood by the people. It has also sacrifices. It is said that formerly bloody sacrifices, and even human sacrifices, were offered, but, so far as I can learn, they are now confined to offerings of rice, fish and other food. Shinto has much to say about defilement, which is primarily physical, but transferred also to moral evil. This is the nearest idea to our idea of sin, and pervades the entire system. Such uncleanness requires various ceremonies of purification, by fire, by water and by salt. For the whole nation the ceremony of purification is performed by the Emperor once a year. This is called "The Great Purification," and clearly involves the idea of a great high priest and of the efficacy of intercession. In this idea of ceremonial uncleanness and of purification both by the individual for himself and by the Emperor for the whole people, as well as in the offerings of food, we cannot help noticing an interesting, although, perhaps, superficial resemblance to the Mosaic code.

Shinto has the advantage of being the state religion of Japan. The chief temples are supported by the government funds, and when great public ceremonies are to be performed, the Shinto priests are sure to conduct the religious services.

In its organization, Shinto is weak, having no formulated creed and no regular parish system. It has temples, where the people worship singly or in crowds, but no regular public worship or meetings for prayer or instruction. It is divided into a number of sects. It is optimistic in its view of life, has many feasts, and

its general tendency is not towards a solemn and thoughtful frame of mind, but rather to a light-hearted and careless enjoyment of present things. It takes no note of the tremendous fact of suffering in human life, and makes no provision for alleviating it.

Herein lies perhaps the widest divergence between Shinto and Buddhism, for the latter system takes its starting point from the fact of suffering, and reaches its end in its complete cessation. In its original form Buddhism is an atheistic philosophy, based upon the idea that the individual nature is indestructible by death, and therefore subject to successive rebirths, in a higher or lower condition, according to its merit, operating, not by the judgment of a personal divine law giver, but by an inexorable law of cause and effect. In this process the individual is constantly exposed to suffering unless and until he, by his own efforts, reaches a condition where he can repress all desire or passion, which is the highest enlightenment.

This system is no doubt studied and comprehended more or less by the higher priests and scholars of Japan, for there are some of them who have made a specialty of the Sanscrit language and both in Europe and in India have made a study of the original sources of their religion. This is, however, not the Buddhism of the common people. So far as it is found in Japan at all, it must be considered an esoteric philosophy. In the common form of the religion, Japanese Buddhism is a compound wherein, to be sure, remnants of these philosophical principles are present, but where they are overshadowed by later developments, until more

than forty divergent sects teach as many forms of faith. In general, Japanese Buddhism may be described as an idolatrous system presenting as religious elements nature and ancestor worship, absorbed from Shinto, Hindooism, and other sources; worship of imaginary deities who were originally personifications of the virtue of Buddha; and saint worship, wherein especially the founders of the sects have prayers and worship addressed to them. All this is accompanied by the abundant use of images of wood, stone and metal, some of them of great size; the one at Kamakura, for instance, being nearly fifty feet high and one hundred feet in circumference. There is no coarser and crasser idolatry possible than is in evidence throughout Japan.

Absolutely essential to Buddhism in all of its forms is the doctrine of a future existence, and of the relation of our good and evil deeds to our condition after death. In this respect it is a wonderful advance over Shinto. It touches the deepest thoughts and aspirations of suffering humanity in a way that is quite foreign to the other religion. In some of the most popular sects, this doctrine of a future life has taken the form of a belief in heaven and hell, described in ways that correspond to the lower mediæval conceptions of both in European Christianity. Sin is presented as uncontrolled selfish passion, leading to every form of moral evil. The way to salvation is through self-repression, renunciation of the world and meditation. The recognition that this way is hard, not to say impossible, to the average man, worked in thoughtful

minds a feeling that upon such conditions escape is hopeless. It will be recognized that this effect is analogous to the office of the law in producing the knowledge that no man can be saved by works.

Such a way of escape as is thus felt to be needed is offered by the Shin sect of Buddhists. Nothing can be imagined more contradictory to the original spirit of Buddhism than this doctrine, which is nevertheless accepted by the most numerous, wealthy and progressive section of Japanese Buddhism. This sect teaches the doctrine of Amida. The Rev. Arthur Lloyd, of Tokyo, who has made an especial study of this sect, says:

"Amida is the ONE BUDDHA, a Being of infinite life and light, without beginning of life or end of days. Countless ages ago he, out of His mercy, became man, and in his human form and for man he undertook austerities and penances, until he was able as man to return to that glorified state from which he had descended. But before returning, he registered a vow not to accept his glory until he had worked out a way of salvation for mankind, an easy way, which should not depend on man's individual exertions. Having made this vow, he established a Paradise, and decreed that faith in his name and vow should suffice to enable the greatest sinner to enter and be saved."

Mr. Lloyd is making some very interesting investigations in regard to the origin of this faith, and occasionally publishes the results. So far as he has gone he regards it as probable, although not yet certain, that this Amida doctrine is of Christian origin, and that Amida is but another name for Christ. He says that the earliest books in which it is found are from the

year A. D. 147, and that it reached China, not from India, but from Central Asia.

Buddhist worship is conducted with gorgeous rites and ceremonies, including the use of incense and candles, and the adoration of relics. Preaching services, Sunday Schools and Young Men's Buddhist Associations, and even revival meetings are characteristic of modern Japanese Buddhism.

As an organization, with its monks, nuns and hierarchy, and especially its parish system, by which it reaches almost every hamlet and home, Buddhism is very strong. It is not supported by the government, but does not on that account lack financial resources, as the income from endowments, lands, and voluntary contributions is very great. It is by all odds the chief opponent of Christianity from the standpoint of organized religion. It is no mean opponent, either. Its strength has never been tested, as no great defections from Buddhist ranks have yet taken place directly in consequence of mission work. Our converts have come, for the most part, from classes over whom the Buddhist priests had no influence.

It must not be understood, however, that these two systems, Shinto and Buddhism, are considered by the Japanese to be mutually exclusive, or even that the uneducated clearly distinguish between them. Even such a man as Prof. Kume, of the Imperial University, insists that he does not believe in the one to the exclusion of the other. In public festivals he is a Shintoist, and at funeral services a Buddhist. Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain says, in speaking of the pilgrims who

visit famous shrines in great crowds each year, that they do not so much as realize that Buddhism and Shintoism are two separate cults. Moreover, mingled with both of them is a mass of superstition concerning fetishes, charms, amulets, witchcraft, fox possession, etc., that is properly neither the one nor the other.

Let us review the list of religious ideas which these systems present. They have the ideas of the existence of God, or gods; prayer, both public and private; sacred houses, places, times and ceremonies; the individual existence and immortality of the soul, with its happiness in its future state dependent upon its conduct here; heaven and hell, although in crude form; the worship of invisible spiritual deities; sacrifices; sin as defilement and as uncontrolled selfish passion; the consequent necessity of purification and salvation, and that such salvation may be by works or through faith in the merits of another.

These ideas certainly constitute no small spiritual inheritance. So far as they can be separated from accompanying error, they are a real preparation for receiving the truths of Christianity, as no one will doubt who has heard a Japanese preacher point to the ancient sacrifices, prayers and doctrines as proof that what he says has always been acknowledged in principle by the Japanese themselves. The words "so far as they can be separated from accompanying error" are important to the accuracy of the above statement, for these primary religious ideas are not found in Shinto and Buddhism in a pure state, but overlaid

with a mass of error that forms a mighty hindrance to the reception of spiritual teaching. As everywhere, so in Japan, the root idea of polytheism is pantheism, the identification of the Creator with the creature, with all the loss of personality in the deity and consequent loss of personal responsibility in the worshipper that pantheism implies. I need not dwell upon this, as it must be evident to every thoughtful person what a degradation of the religious impulse idolatry involves. This is especially seen among the Japanese in the weakness of their sense of sin. Although as shown already, it is to be found in their systems, it is rare to find it in individuals. The lack of conception of a personal relation to a personal God has worked out this result in Japan perhaps more perfectly than anywhere else.

Moreover, even if we recognize the primary religious ideas involved in these systems as true and valuable, it does not follow that these ideas could not have been preserved except through such a system, or that the existence of the system is itself a benefit. On the contrary, the partial satisfaction of the religious instinct which a system like Buddhism supplies may destroy instead of stimulating the religious appetite for the real and complete truth. It is probable, for example, that the present more rapid advance of Christianity among the Koreans is due, in part, at least, to the complete absence of Buddhism in that country, leaving the heart free from any supposed satisfaction of its primary religious need.

III. Moral Conditions.

In turning now to consider the moral ideas and practices of the Japanese, we must guard ourselves against the danger of looking for anything strange or striking in such a sphere. Primary moral ideas are everywhere the same. They are human rather than national or racial. There are certain differences between the morality of one country and another, and naturally these differences receive the greatest attention in any discussion of the subject, but in point of fact the resemblances are always much more profound and significant than the differences. The sources of Japanese morality, or, rather, the formulations of it—for apart from the Bible the source of moral knowledge is everywhere the revelation of God's will in the conscience—are to be found in the two religions mentioned and in the two moral codes, Confucianism and Bushido, or the code of knightly honor. Bushido is really nothing new. Its sources are to be found in Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism, with the emphasis laid upon such virtues as naturally come to the front under a system of military feudalism, such as existed in Japan from the twelfth century to the beginning of the present era.

From the great Chinese teachers, for the general term "Confucianism" includes the teachings of Mencius as well as those of Confucius, the Japanese learned a system of moral philosophy complete in itself, depending upon no religion to give it sanction and power. Five relations of men in the social order are

distinguished: those of ruler and subject, father and son, elder brothers and younger brothers, husbands and wives, and friends. Upon these five relations Confucius builds his moral system, which accordingly lays great emphasis upon the duty of reverence and obedience from the lower to the higher. The duties of the higher ranks to the lower are also recognized, but receive very little emphasis, at least, in the Japanese apprehension of the system. The ideal man is represented in the classics as the "Kunshi," or Superman, the philosopher, and in extended conversations between the master and his disciples, the latter are taught how the superior man acts under different circumstances, and how they should imitate him. In point of influence, there is no ethical system in Japan to compare with the teachings of these Chinese classics. They were for centuries the chief text books of the nation, and are to-day the sources from which the teacher of morality in a Japanese school draws his maxims and illustrations. In the famous Rescript on Education, issued in 1889, their overwhelming influence is clearly seen. The sermons and lectures of Shinto and Buddhist teachers are also largely tinged with Confucianism. That this influence is a pervasive rather than a formal or public force is evident from the fact that there is not to-day any magazine that can be regarded as outright an organ of Confucianism, although the Confucian ideas are continually cropping out in Shinto, Buddhist, non-religious, or even Christian journals. Doubtless the absence of any Confucian propaganda is primarily to be ascribed to the

lack of any Confucian establishment, in the sense of temples and a priesthood.

From or through these different systems the Japanese have learned to recognize all of the ordinary moral duties. So long as we confine ourselves to the outward conduct, the chief, if not the only, essential difference between their ideas and ours lies in the proportion and rank of the virtues.

In each of the four systems tremendous emphasis is laid upon the fact that duties arise from relations—relations to other men, not to God. Hence what the superior demands, or what benefits the family is duty, the contrary is sin. The moral quality of an act that concerns the individual only is of secondary importance. This is the ruling principle in all but Buddhism, where it is replaced by the duty of self-repression, not less adapted to kill the feeling of individual moral responsibility. Accordingly, the individual has little to say. He is swallowed up in the mass. He bows to the will of another, so that the idea of deciding for one's self what is right and doing that, in the face of a contrary command from father or mother or ruler, yea, of the Mikado himself, is utterly foreign to Japanese ethics. This may be the reason, as is sometimes urged, why the supreme value which we attach to the personal virtues of truthfulness and chastity is by the Japanese accorded to the social virtues of obedience, submission and loyalty.

If it be asked how far, with all this moral teaching, the Japanese have succeeded in realizing their ideals in their conduct, and what is now the practical moral-

ity of the people, we enter upon a delicate and difficult subject, upon which the most divergent judgments have been pronounced, and in regard to which almost any opinion can be sustained by a fair degree of evidence. I must be understood as merely giving my judgment, a judgment not carelessly formed, but yet, in view of the complicated nature of the problem a judgment not even remotely possessing a claim to finality.

There are certain virtues that are very conspicuous among the Japanese. They are, on the whole, cheerful, gentle, industrious, law-abiding, respectful and kind to parents and to the aged, mutually helpful, and polite. In some things they are distinctly superior to ourselves. They are more law-abiding. They are more patient and courteous in trying circumstances.

On the other hand, there are not less prominent vices. The two that are most prominent are insincerity and unchastity, using both terms in the widest sense. These are the chief moral hindrances to the acceptance of the gospel by the Japanese, and they are of fearful power. The more I associate with the Japanese and study their writings, whether ancient or modern, the more deeply I am impressed with their undervaluation of truth for its own sake. It would be too much to say that they have no conscience about lying, for they do perceive the greater moral beauty and value of the truth when contrasted directly and abstractly with falsehood, with nothing to offset it, but a lie that seems to serve the purposes of filial piety, or loyalty, or benevolence, or religion, at once loses its

enormity and becomes a virtue. Hence they are so impregnated with the idea that religion is a pious fraud, a lie invented to make men good, that they find it almost impossible to take it seriously. The following opinion has become very prevalent, which was expressed by a Japanese writer in the "Japan Mail:" "If the great men in past ages professed faith in Christianity, it is quite within the limits of probability that they only pretended to believe in it in order to set a good example for the lower classes to follow." That the writer was honest in making this particular statement I have no doubt, but clearly he could not get such a thought into his head unless a profound and habitual insincerity pervaded his own life and the society in which he moves. Such a man has not even caught a glimpse of that enthusiasm for truth which animates Christian men.

The next great moral obstacle is the sexual impurity of the country. In this I refer not so much to open prostitution as to the widespread callousness with regard to the moral evil of illegitimate sexual intercourse, and the low ideas of marriage. Trouble of this kind begins very early. In our school, the students are from fourteen to twenty years of age, but we have to be on our guard, not only against self-abuse, but especially against sodomy, and numerous cases of discipline arise out of this form of impurity, as well as out of improper relations to women. In society at large co-habitation without marriage, concubinage and fornication are extensively practiced, with very little protest except from Christian sources.

Other evils along the same line are the extreme laxity and prevalence of divorce; the presence of the geisha, or dancing girl, in well-nigh all social entertainments, public and private; unlicensed prostitution, concerning which no figures can be given; and public, licensed prostitution, of which the published statistics are sufficiently appalling.

In Tokyo one person in every 219 of the population is a licensed prostitute. In Osaka the proportion is one in 163, and in Nagasaki it is one in 76.*

What these figures mean becomes clearer when we reflect that one-half of the population are males, and that of the remaining one-half only about forty per cent, by an extreme calculation, are of suitable age. It means, then, that in the city of Nagasaki one woman in every thirteen or fourteen of suitable age is a public prostitute. Of course, this is exceptional. This proportion is far from holding for the whole country. Nevertheless, the country over, it is so serious, and the supply of women willing to engage in this business is so great that they are exported in large numbers, so that Japanese houses of prostitution are found in considerable numbers in Siberia, Manchuria, Korea, in the large cities of China, in Singapore, and in Dutch and British India. A Japanese journalist informed me after an examination of government records, that at the end of 1908, out of 56,000 Japanese

*These are official figures, published in the "Japan Weekly Mail," June 25, 1910, p. 937. The figures there given for Nagasaki is one in 46, but comparison of number of prostitutes with population shows this to be an error for 76.

women and girls in the Korean peninsula, more than 4,000 were to be reckoned as either nominally or practically prostitutes.

Any person of a little experience and moral insight understands that such things do not arise by accident, but that behind them lies a condition of moral callousness on this particular point that is a serious hindrance to the gospel.

The limits of time do not permit an adequate discussion of the question whether the religious and moral condition of the Japanese people is advancing or retrograding. Opinions in abundance could be quoted from high Japanese authorities in support of the position that Shinto is no longer a religion, but only an elaborate ceremonial to indicate respect for the Imperial house and the national heroes; that Buddhism is on its last legs, subject to hopeless decay; and that the morality of the country is rapidly declining. I am myself, however, unconvinced on all of these points.

Ten years ago I was far more confident in regard to the decay of Shinto and Buddhism than I am now, and, if I mistake not, this is quite a common experience among the missionaries. That I am not so sure of it now is due, in part, I hope, to the more intimate contact with the people which I have recently enjoyed and to a deeper insight, but is to be ascribed also, I think, to a real revival, both of Shinto and of Buddhism during recent years. The great victory over Russia, won, as many believe, through the help of the Imperial ancestors, and resulting in a number of new

additions to the national Pantheon, has done much to strengthen Shinto. The evidences of an increasing interest in Buddhism and of greater activity in Buddhist circles are also too numerous and patent to be ignored. The impulse to a revival of Buddhism has no doubt come largely from the Christian movement and results from a deeper interest in religion as such. So far as this is the case, it must eventually work out for good. What it will lead to we cannot at present say, except that Buddhism still abides in its strength and may prove itself, in the next generation, to be a much more formidable antagonist than has hitherto been supposed.

As to the moral decline, I am more inclined to agree with the prevalent opinion, not only because this opinion is supported by many facts in the literature and life of the people, but also on á priori grounds. There are certain causes at work in Japan which can hardly have any other effect than to break down both the religious beliefs and the moral standards of the people.

The first of these forces is the commercial and material occidental form of civilization with which Japan is now coming into such intimate contact. There has been a mighty upheaval in Japan within the last forty years. Ancient landmarks in society and government have been removed. New industries, laws, opportunities, ideas, and customs have come in. The ancestral moral and religious landmarks have been in many minds removed with the rest. When we remember how many people base their morality rather upon the custom of the community or circle within which

they move than upon principle, we cannot help anticipating that in a country where almost everything is in a state of flux, morality will suffer.

Further, the commercial progress of Japan has greatly increased her available wealth. Thus thousands have the means for the gratification of their lusts who lacked opportunity before. What can this result in but an increase of moral evil?

Finally, a very powerful influence in the same direction is the system of education, both in its higher and lower departments. The increase of the common schools has resulted in a rapid increase of intelligence among the people. Intelligence is not inconsistent with Christianity, perhaps not with some forms of Buddhism, but it is utterly inconsistent with a belief in Buddhism and Shinto as known to the odinary person in Japan. The consequence is that, knowing no other religion, they identify religion with idolatry and superstition, and having become too intelligent to believe in these, they become dead to religious feeling or conviction. In this way the common schools, merely by teaching the elements of knowledge, do their part towards destroying the religious life of the nation. This process is completed in the higher schools, where the student is supplied with a scientific defense of such a position by studying the agnostic philosophy of the day. Absolute scepticism is in most cases the inevitable result. To this the educated Japanese mind is predisposed by the influence of Confucianism, by the idea that religion is a fraud to regulate the conduct of ignorant men, and by the lack of

profound philosophical insight in the Japanese mind, a characteristic that is noticed by almost all students of the national character.

The result is that agnosticism is at present everywhere triumphant in Japan.

I need not take the trouble to point out how completely this agnostic and materialistic philosophy cuts away the ground from under the moral law as well as the religious belief. Japanese educators teach the old moral maxims diligently, but they are bound to discover, and some of them are already discovering, that their philosophy is stronger than their maxims.

Two results already appear. On the one hand, some of the noblest natures are driven to despair. The suicide of a certain Fujimura Misao, in 1903, who was driven to despair by the study of philosophy was in itself startling enough, but his example was so frequently followed that the police were obliged to place sentinels near the spot where he died to prevent similar suicides, and in spite of this precaution scores of young men have cut short their own lives because their philosophy had left them no sufficient cause to live.

The other result, occurring, of course, with infinitely greater frequency, is that the lusts of the flesh prevail over the conscience, unenlightened and uninstructed by any adequate religious principles, and that the life which, throwing off all restraint, gratifies only its own desires is not only led, but is justified as the only reasonable and proper course. Hence arises the influence of what is called in Japan "Naturalism,"

which is hardly more than another name for the principle of lust, deliberately adopted and philosophically defended. Many educators have expressed themselves as greatly alarmed over the moral decline of young men and women, but they do not seem to recognize the fact that the Imperial University sows the seed from which the police courts reap the harvest.

We have finished our brief and necessarily very inadequate review of the conditions under which the missionary purpose must be accomplished in modern Japan. No one can thoughtfully consider all the elements that go to make up the social, political, religious and moral life of the people of Japan to-day without feeling that, although the outward conditions are favorable, the inner conditions make it a very difficult mission field. So it is now generally regarded. Some writers have even pronounced it the most difficult field of all. Certain it is that the problem presented here has no parallel in the history of the church since the evangelization of the Roman Empire, if, indeed, that be a true parallel. Since that time the message of the gospel has always been borne to uncivilized races, or, at least, to races on a lower plane of advancement than the missionaries were. This is not so with us. We come as equals, not as superiors, and we come to a nation armed against our persuasions by the most modern intellectual weapons taken from the arsenals of western infidelity. Need we wonder if many a bystander asks whether there is any chance of success for Christianity in Japan? Under God, it is ours to answer that question. If we are alert and faithful,

we need not doubt the result, but certainly the victory will not be obtained without a might exertion of the resources of the churches in America. To secure this it is essential that the magnitude of the task be realized, and that the idea that the work in Japan will soon be finished should be utterly put away.

On the other hand, the prize is worth all its costs. Where else can we find a nobler people looking forward to a greater future? The words of Milton in regard to the English people ring out as if written for the Japanese of to-day.

"Consider what a nation it is, a nation not slow and dull, but of quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. The shop of war hath not more anvils and hammers there, working to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defense of beleaguered Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement.

"What would a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful laborers to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest, there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up: the fields are white already."

CHAPTER III.

The Organization of the Christian Church, the First Great Step in the Accomplishment of Our Purpose.

In our first chapter we saw that the grand object of missions is not merely to evangelize a country, but to organize within it a permanent agency for keeping the truth before the people, an agency so well established that we can presently withdraw, in the confident expectation that future generations no less than the present will have the blessings of the gospel. There can be no doubt as to which form such a permanent agency should assume. The Christian church is the divinely ordained organization for the preservation and propagation of the gospel. To her are committed the oracles of God, to her is given the task of preaching the gospel of a risen Lord to the ends of the earth. She is "the pillar and ground of the faith," for without the organization of the church that truth would be lost to the world in a single generation.

The church, in her essential life, is one, as her task is one; but if we hold the conception of the church that has always prevailed among the Protestant, and especially among the Reformed believers, it is evident that churches established in two very distant countries or among two diverse races can do their work best when independent of one another, and that such independence is not in conflict with their essential one-ness.

For this reason the Reformed Church in America felt it no offense to be distinct from the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, and even the Episcopal bodies in England and in the United States consider it undesirable to be one in outward form. There will be no question, then, that in lands like China and Japan the church ought, as soon as she has gained sufficient strength, to be organized on a basis of absolute independence of the parent churches in America and England, although in cordial relations of fellowship with them. This is therefore the principle upon which the chief missions in Japan are proceeding.

As it is impossible to follow out the history of all the different branches of the church in this lecture, I invite your attention.

I. To a brief review of the development of the church at large.

II. To a more particular examination of the body resulting from the labors of the Presbyterian and Reformed missionaries.

III. To a few remarks on the present condition of the church and its peculiar problems.

I. The Development of the Church at Large.

We may pass rapidly over the years before 1872, the story of which is doubtless familiar. It was a period of hard and faithful labor, with considerable danger, but the fruits were not at once apparent. Here and there a single convert gave no hint of the great blessing to come, but the publication of Dr. Hepburn's Japanese dictionary, in 1867, was a great and permanent gain. Three events mark the close of this period.

the publication of the Gospel of Matthew in the vernacular, in 1872; the organization of the first Christian church, in the following year; and the inauguration of practical religious liberty after the removal of the public anti-Christian notices, in 1873. The way was now fairly open for advance.

The advance, when it came, was truly remarkable. Including both 1872 and 1889, we have a period of eighteen years, at the outset of which there were no churches and not more than a dozen converts, while at the close there were no less than 29,000 believers organized in 274 churches. The average annual increase for the whole period amounts thus to more than fifteen hundred, while the progression is by geometrical ratio, for the figures show that from 1877 to 1889, a period of twelve years, the number of converts doubled every three years.

In 1877 there were 1617 believers.
In 1880 there were 3256 believers.
In 1883 there were 5591 believers.
In 1886 there were 13269 believers..
In 1889 there were 28977 believers.

The more one thinks of this, the more remarkable it appears. It would be interesting to know how frequently in the history of the Christian church a similar rate of progress was maintained in a heathen country for such a space of time. There are certain reasons connected with the state of Japanese society at that time that can be offered in partial explanation of this phenomenon. These are the natural curiosity of many to hear what the Christian religion was, espec-

ially the interest attaching to something so long and so strictly prohibited by the Tokugawa government, which had been driven from power; the exaggerated value put upon all things Western at that time; the desire of many young men to learn the English language, which brought them under the influence of the missionaries; and, most of all, the existence in society of a large class, the socalled "samurai" or literary and military class, to whom the new order of affairs meant a complete revolution in private as well as in public interests.

The Samurai were not generally Buddhists, they were trained to take a lively interest in the discussion of moral and intellectual matters, and most of them had leisure to attend to such discussion. Accordingly, for a time, it became a sort of fashion with them to attend meetings and in other ways inquire into Christianity. In this process, many were converted. So prominent were they and so completely did they shut out of consideration the rest of the population that almost everything hitherto written in regard to the ideas, habits, and character of the Japanese proceeds upon the supposition that the Samurai *are* the Japanese people. For a long time no one seemed to notice that beneath this upper crust slumbered the majority of the nation, an inert mass, subject, in their inner life, to no such mercurial changes, to be moved, if moved at all, only by the much slower processes of education and evangelization.

The situation was therefore comparable to a mass of forest wood, consisting almost entirely of heavy

green logs, but containing also a small quantity of dry brush. When the torch is applied, such a pile of wood will take fire readily and burn with a fierceness that suggests to an observer the speedy consumption of the whole mass. In a short time, however, the brush is burnt out, and the logs are seen to have been barely touched. This illustration gives one a fairly correct idea of what took place in Japan during the eighties.

While we must recognize these various elements in the situation, however, they supply no explanation of how the torch came to be applied. This, the spiritual element in the work, is after all the most important. This is found in the remarkable out-pouring of the Holy Spirit that began about 1883. The result was a series of revivals, that spread to all parts of the country, and lasted for several years.

Dr. Ritter, in his "History of Protestant Missions in Japan" gives an extensive review of these revivals, a review that is all the more interesting because the learned Dr. is not in hearty sympathy with them. In summing up he says:

"Let us once more survey the whole in order to arrive as nearly as possible at an impartial judgment. As constantly recurring features there stand out prominently: a strong realization of the sinner's lost condition; confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness with tears and strong excitement, frequently in the presence of the assembled congregation; peace and joy in the consciousness of the forgiveness effected through the Holy Ghost; the asserted impartation of the Holy Spirit to individuals and to whole assemblies, at times suddenly perceptible. A growing interest in Bible study is also mentioned as a happy result. Another striking manifestation

was a great zeal on the part of those reached by the revival in telling others of their own inner experiences and in laboring for their conversion. There was also a desire on the part of those not yet reached to be brought under Christian influence, and, moreover, constant prayer for revivals and for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Revivals also occurred in women's meetings and in boys' and girls' meetings down to children of most tender years."

Further evidence of the remarkable character of those years in Japan, especially of the latter half of the eighties, is supplied by the missionary magazines of the time and by the reports of the Council of Missions. These latter are very condensed summaries of the work of the year, but still they contain on every page notices of churches organized within a few months of the beginning of work in those communities, or interesting accounts of notable conversions, accompanied with surrender of property for the use of the gospel, especially property previously used for the manufacture of liquor or other immoral purposes.

One great advantage of the rapid increase of converts was that the organization of the church could now be proceeded with. By the end of the period the Christian churches of Japan were an established fact. On the other hand, the exaggerated ideas as to the future prosperity of missions in Japan, to which I alluded in the first lecture, were also born out of the circumstances of the time. The idea that missionaries could soon be withdrawn was based partly upon a faulty theory of the missionary purpose, but this fact escaped detection so long as Japanese and foreign

workers, as well as the church at home, were intoxicated with their wonderful success. We smile sadly now at their enthusiastic predictions, but he must be a cold-hearted missionary who can read the accounts in contemporary sources without wishing that he had been there. If he had been, no doubt he would have been as much deceived by the prospect as the rest.

The fact remains, however, that they were deceived, and that completely.

The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Council of Missions, covering the year 1889, records a decrease in the number of baptisms and of the contributions. This was the beginning of what we call "The Great Reaction." The causes were very various and complex, too much so to permit of their discussion in a condensed lecture. They were of a nature partly secular and partly religious. The secular causes include the refusal of Western governments, for a long time, to revise certain treaties, the growing influence of the educational system, and the remarkable advance of the country in every respect, with the natural feeling of self-satisfaction thereby engendered, so that the Japanese to some extent lost the very docility to which they owed their progress. The more directly religious and moral causes include the unavoidable reaction that follows every revival, the introduction into the country of all kinds of unbelief, both openly,—in the agnostic teaching of the University or the translations of all kinds of agnostic literature,—and under cover of the Christian name. The liberal German theologians entered the field in 1885 and the Unitarians in

1888. Perhaps it is hardly fair to name these two together without recognizing the fact that the Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society must be admitted to stand for many of the fundamental doctrines of the faith, while Unitarianism, at least as it appears in Japan, has no just title to be called a religious, not to say a Christian system. Other causes were the issue of a rescript on education by the Emperor, interpreted, —I think mis-interpreted—by one of the most famous professors in such a way as to make it appear an act of disloyalty for any Japanese to become a Christian; the prevalence of liberal views among missionaries of the regular boards; and the return to Japan of young Japanese who had studied the Higher Criticism and other similar destructive theories at American universities. All this led to much discussion and controversy. The most serious conflicts of faith were thrust upon the infant church. It was like Hercules, obliged in his very cradle to give battle for his life.

The result of all these component forces was that we saw dark days during the decade from 1890 to 1900. We had a hard struggle to hold our own. The spiritual life of the church grew cold, evangelistic zeal left the believers, Sunday observance declined, contributions fell off, and the lives of many Christians were a disgrace to their profession. Consequently the numerical advance during that period was very slow indeed. This was not so much from lack of baptisms as from heavy losses through removals, withdrawals, and discipline. I have not the figures at hand for the whole Protestant body, but in the Church of Christ

alone the admissions on confession for the ten years from 1890 to 1899, both inclusive, were about 6,600, while the net increase for the entire ten years was about 600. Out of 6,600, 6,000 had disappeared!

But we should make a great mistake if we failed to remember that in spiritual, no less than in temporal matters, "sickness and health, barren and fruitful seasons, prosperity and adversity, come to us, not by chance, but from God's fatherly hand." While we recognize the secondary causes we have enumerated, we know perfectly well that He had forces in reserve that could have neutralized them all and made the victory of the church to proceed unchecked. The reason why He did not do it is simply that it was better not to do it. Certain benefits were ultimately to accrue to the church and its work, and for this reason trial was permitted to come. We can not yet point out all the advantages the reaction contained, but we may discern some of them. The first of these was the sifting of the membership. During the period of rapid growth not a few had gotten into the church who did not belong there. Their leaving was a benefit to the body. They went out from us because they were not of us.

It was also a great benefit that the church was for a time less in the public eye. Retirement into comparative obscurity gave it time to grow inwardly, as when a gardener covers the leaves of a plant that in the darkness its roots may go down deeper into the soil. Again, on account of the slower growth the tendency of the missionaries to leave things prematurely in the hands of the Japanese church was checked. They de-

voted themselves in increasing numbers and with renewed zeal to the work of evangelization, which in the time of greatest prosperity had been largely left to the native preachers. They made a deeper study, also, of the principles of missions and of the spiritual need of the Japanese people, a study that led to important and salutary results.

The decade 1900 to 1909 opened with a widespread special evangelistic effort inaugurated by the Evangelical Alliance. A large work was done all over the country and it was evident that the Christian forces were much larger and better organized than had ever been the case before. In some places revivals were reported, and a number of remarkable conversions took place. On the whole, however, the immediate and visible results were small, and it did not, as many hoped, inaugurate a new period in the evangelization of Japan. The real revival power was lacking. Consequently the general character of the advance during this decade has remained the same as in the one before, viz., slow progress gained at the expense of much hard work. In view of the increase in the number of workers, both native and foreign, their better distribution throughout the country, their improved qualifications from every point of view, and their riper experience, it is safe to say that far more work and better directed work has been done in the past ten than in the previous twenty years; and yet the tabulated statistical results are disappointing. The increase in communicant membership during the decade was nearly nineteen hundred per year as against

nearly thirteen hundred a year from 1889 to 1899, which yields almost exactly the same percentage, 44 or 45 per cent. of increase in ten years.

The internal growth of the church in this decade, however, has been very marked. The Christian schools, both for young men and young women, have made immense gains, self-support has made great strides forward, Sunday School work, Christian literature, hymnology, publication, and Bible distribution have all made notable progress. These various kinds of growth ought sooner or later to express themselves in rapidly increasing church attendance and numerous conversions, and we may not doubt that such a time will come, but for the present we have to confess that there is less apparent progress than could be desired.

One encouraging item we should not omit to notice, however, and that is that we are constantly gaining on the population, and that in spite of the fact that the population increases at the rate of half a million souls a year. In 1888 there was one communicant Protestant Christian to 1661 of the population; in 1898 the proportion was 1-1067, and in 1908 it was 1-851.

According to the latest returns, some of the most important statistical items are as follows.

STATISTICS OF THE MISSIONARY WORK IN JAPAN.

From the "Christian Movement" for 1911.

Communicants, ...	63,915
Total Membership, including Probationers, Baptized Children, etc.	78,875

Missionaries, Married Men, ...	289
Ditto, Unmarried, ...	36
Ditto, Unmarried Women, ...	344
Total Missionaries, including Wives.....	958
Organized Churches, ...	586
Self-supporting Churches, ...	173
Contributions for all purposes, Yen 300,367	$150,183.50

The Church of Christ in Japan.

Among the different ecclesiastical bodies, we, as members of the Reformed Church, are particularly concerned with what is known as the Church of Christ in Japan, the fruit of the labors, gifts and prayers of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches in America and Scotland. It is not only in the past that we have to do with this church, but our work for the future must be greatly influenced by our relations to it.

In March, 1872, the first church in Japan was organized at Yokohama, as the result of a special series of prayer-meetings of great fervor and power. "It consisted of nine students, partly pupils of the Rev. J. H. Ballagh, of the Dutch Reformed Church, who were baptized on that day, and of two older Japanese, who had been previously baptized." Mr. Ballagh was chosen pastor of this church, while the two older men became, one an elder, the other a deacon. This local organization is now known as the Kaigan church. A second church was organized Sept. 20, 1873, under the guidance of the Rev. David Thompson, at Tokyo. This church was closely associated with the one at Yoko-

hama, the two meeting twice a year for counsel and necessary action. This formed the nucleus of a denomination, to which two other churches, one in the province of Ueda, and one at Nagasaki, were added before 1877. These four local churches therefore formed "The Church of Christ in Japan," which has never had the slightest ecclesiastical relation to any foreign body.

Five other churches, however, were organized by the Presbyterians, and were, with the missionaries themselves, formed into a Presbytery, according to the constitution of that church.

In 1877 all the churches under the care of the American and Scotch Presbyterians united with those established by the Reformed Church into one body, with the cordial consent of the authorities at home. The rules of church government were in the main like those of the home churches, and the standards of doctrine were the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Canons of Dort. Nine churches joined in this union. The number of members was 623. A Presbytery was organized, and remained the governing body until 1881, when it was divided into three, and the Synod, already provided for in the constitution, was formed. It met in its first session in November, 1881.

While the churches were thus joined in organic union, the missions allied themselves in a council, already several times referred to in these lectures as The Council of Missions. This has annual meetings,

and transacts business of common interest. Although its decisions are advisory only. It has been from the beginning a body of great influence. In 1885 the mission of the Southern Presb. Church, in 1886 that of the German Reformed Church, and in 1889 that of the Cumberland Presb. Church, joined the Council and united their efforts with those of the Church of Christ.

Thus was the United Church of Christ in Japan called into existence in 1877, Presbyterian in its organization, and in line with the historical Reformed churches in its doctrinal position. That union is a striking proof of the fraternal disposition of the missionaries and of the unselfish purposes of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches of America and Scotland. Seldom has the desire for Christian unity found more admirable and practical expression.

Attempted Union With the Congregational Churches.

This same anxiety to escape the evils of sectarianism, however, led both the missionaries and the Japanese into great dangers, for under its influence they were led to attempt to unite also with the Congregational churches, founded by the missionaries of the American Board. After prolonged negotiations, the attempt failed, chiefly on account of opposition among the Congregationalists. Opposing articles appeared in the "Pacific" and in the "Advance"; the Congregational State Associations of California and Nebraska protested against the proposed action; two missionar-

ies, the Revs. Sidney L. Gulick and Oramel H. Gulick wrote strong articles on the evils of Presbyterianism, and Dr. Joseph Nishima stood out steadfastly against it, even threatening, in case it was carried, to withdraw from the "Doshisha" and the church.

The failure of this attempt at union was deeply regretted at the time, but most of the missionaries and Japanese ministers are satisfied now that we escaped a great danger, for the extremely liberal teachings of many missionaries and Japanese in the Congregational Churches have since that time placed the difference between them and us in the clearest light. Unrestrained either by the deep spiritual life and sacred traditions that have characterized the Congregational churches of America on the one hand or by any ecclesiastical or credal barriers on the other, certain of the Congregational leaders in Japan have become notorious for flying the Christian flag without any basis of Christian truth. Our Presbyterian and Reformed work has suffered enough from the tendencies of the times. Had the proposed union with the Congregationalists been consummated, the loss would have been appalling.

Constitutional Position of the Church.

Closely associated with this movement to unite with the Congregational Churches, and no doubt more or less affected by it, is the subsequent revision of the Constitution and Confession of the church, which was completed in 1890. The constitution then adopted is still in force, with certain amendments. The consti-

tution as it now stands follows, in the main, the ordinary Presbyterian lines, having the three assemblies, besides the general church meeting. Originally the Synod was composed of representatives of the Presbyteries, but within a year or two this has been changed, so that the churches elect their representatives directly, which makes of the Synod little else than a large Classis. This tendency has been accentuated by another recent resolution to make the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry the work of the Synod, not of the Presbyteries. By the Synod is meant the General Synod, but it is not so called, because there has never been a Particular Synod. A peculiar provision in the church law is that not every ordained minister votes in Presbytery, only those do so who are installed pastors of churches or professors in theological seminaries recognized by the Synod or who have been appointed by the Classis to take charge of some definite work. In addition to the regular assemblies, recognized in the constitution of the church, there is still another, existing merely by virtue of a resolution of the Synod, viz. the Executive Committee, to which all sorts of matters are referred and which transacts the business of the church during the interim between meetings of the Synod. The complaint is frequently heard that this committee is assuming too much power, and developing into something like a board of bishops. The church at large, however, seems to feel the need of some such body, and continues the same persons in office year after year.

One more peculiarity of the church organization must be mentioned. After defining a local church as a body of believers organized according to the rules of the church at large, the constitution distinguishes two kinds of churches, viz., mission churches and churches properly and fully so called. Mission churches are loosely organized groups of Christians, having neither elders nor full rights of representation in Classis. The standard is self-support. A body too weak to pay the salary of a pastor and other ordinary expenses can not be a fully organized church in fellowship with the Church of Christ in Japan.

It will appear from what has been said that the position of the Church of Christ on the matter of church government is, in general, very satisfactory. The work of the committee to whom the task of preparing a constitution was entrusted occupied a whole year, so carefully was it done. The proposed constitution was published in Japanese and in English six months before final action was taken. Finally, in the resultant document the Japanese church availed herself of the principles of ecclesiastical procedure established by the Presbyterian and Reformed churches with which she is in line of historical development. Amendments have been made later as it was considered that the experience and development of the church indicated their wisdom. All this is a sound and admirable procedure. No small credit is due, among others, to Dr. William Imbrie, one of the Presbyterian missionaries, who was especially responsible for drafting the document, a task for which he was peculiarly well adapted, both by nature and by training.

Confessional Position of the Church.

It is deeply to be regretted that the procedure of the church in the still more vital matter of the doctrinal standards was in striking contrast to the sound methods employed in preparing the constitution. The matter was originally entrusted to the same committee, but in its report the committee said that while recognizing the need of a new confession, it shrank from the work of preparing one, and unanimously offered the English Articles, i. e., the confession of faith which had just then been adopted by the English Presbyterian Church, for the acceptance of the Synod. Some of the members of the Synod, however, proposed that the Apostles' Creed, and that alone, should be adopted. When, in opposition to this, the obvious insufficiency of that confession was pointed out, it was suggested that a supplementary statement could be inserted as an introduction to the Apostles' Creed. During the recess the following confession was prepared by Dr. Imbrie, and on presentation to the Synod it was adopted unanimously. It should be remarked in passing that the sacraments, not mentioned in the Confession, appear in the Constitution and Canons.

Confession of Faith.

The Lord Jesus Christ, whom we worship as God, the only begotten Son of God, for us men was made man and suffered. He offered up a perfect sacrifice for sin, and all who are made one with Him by faith are pardoned and accounted righteous; and faith in Him working by love purifieth the heart.

The Holy Ghost, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, reveals Christ to the soul; and without His grace man, being dead in sins, cannot enter the kingdom of God. By Him the prophets and apostles and holy men of old were inspired; and He, speaking in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is the supreme and infallible judge of all things pertaining to faith and living.

From these Holp scriptures the ancient church of Christ drew its confession, and we, holding the faith once delivered to the saints, join in that confession with praise and thanksgiving:—

(Here follows the Apostles' Creed.)

I have said that this action presents the greatest contrast to the action in regard to the constitution. That document was the result of a year of labor; this confession was written during a recess between two sessions of the Synod: the constitution was printed in both English and Japanese and submitted for inspection and criticism six months before a vote was taken: this confession was at once adopted on presentation to the Synod, before the church and the missionary body at large had any opportunity so much as to read it. Finally, in the document itself the Japanese Church cut herself off from the historical development from which she sprang, for of distinctively Calvinistic ideas there is not the slightest trace.

The action of the Synod has nevertheless received much praise in many influential quarters. The grounds upon which it is approved are generally those set forth by Dr. Imbrie in the Fourteenth Report of the Council. Briefly stated, they are that the church must have a creed suited to its own needs, which were not those

of the sixteenth century; that other ancient churches, those of the Nicene and Reformation periods especially, adopted creeds to suit the times; that the Presbyterian Church in America was revising its confession —all good examples for the Japanese church to follow; and that the need called for a simple, irenic confession, one binding equally upon pastor and people, a statement that should set forth the great truths of historical Christianity, but should not be a symbol of division among those who love and worship one Lord Jesus Christ.

To my mind, these grounds will not bear careful examination. The first, that "the needs of the church should be the determining element in the adoption of a confession for the church in Japan" is best met with a flat denial. The determining element in a confession is the body of truth to be confessed. The state of the church and the prevalent errors of the day do indeed have their influence on the form of the creed, but as to the substance to be admitted, a creed is a solemn act of self-expression by the church in the domain of faith. She seeks first of all a complete and accurate expression of what she believes.

Further, the appeal to the example of the ancient church fails to take note of the fact that neither the Nicene fathers nor the Reformers began by throwing overboard what they already possessed. The Nicene fathers retained the Apostles' Creed, and added thereto the truths of which the church had since attained a clearer apprehension. The Reformers did the same; keeping the old creeds, they built upon that founda-

tion. If they rejected anything, they did it because after careful examination they were convinced that it was not in accordance with the Scriptures. No such conviction influenced the Church in Japan.

Again, that there should be no severer test of orthodoxy for the leaders and official teachers of the church than for the humblest member, is a proposition that refutes itself.

Finally, the example of the modern churches to which reference is made should have led the Japanese church to a very different attitude. The Presbyterian Church in America did not revise its confession in any such radical way as the church in Japan.

No fault can be found with the church for desiring a new statement of her faith. Descended from the Presbyterian churches of England and Scotland on the one hand, and from the Reformed churches of Holland and Germany on the other, there was no reason why she should adopt the symbols of the one rather than of the other. To adopt them all, as was at first done, was obviously a compromise, and inappropriate after the Cumberland Presbyterian Church had been admitted to the body. If the Synod had adopted the report of the committee which recommended the confession of the English Presbyterian Church, or if she had soberly addressed herself to the task of preparing a new confession—a task for which her own committee felt that she had not yet the competence, nothing could be said.

There were not lacking missionaries who strongly disapproved of the action taken. Dr. Verbeck was one

of these. They were apparently, however, either indisposed to raise their voices in such a conflict or devoid of influence. Possibly, in view of all the circumstances they thought it would do more harm than good. It cannot be denied, however, that many of the missionaries erred in undervaluing the supreme importance of doctrine. This creed revision affair, as well as other developments in the history of the church finds its explanation partly in New School ideas among the missionaries.

The creed itself, however, is better than its extreme brevity and the circumstances of its adoption would lead men to expect. It does present the elementary truths of our religion in easily comprehended, non-scientific language. Its expressions are largely taken from the older confessions. It is, moreover, entitled to the credit of containing nothing but what is heartily believed by the church. This is a negative excellence, the result partly of its poverty, but it is entitled to recognition. The faith of the ministry and of intelligent laymen is probably greater, not smaller, than the profession.

The Condition and Problems of the Church.

We have no time to do more than to glance at the last division of our subject, the condition and problems of the church in Japan. To do it justice would require a volume.

The ordinary church work is conducted very much as it is among us. I should be puzzled to mention any

particularly Japanese feature in it. Church attendance is small, in proportion to the membership, owing partly to the scattered condition of the believers, partly to the lack of church going habits and traditions in the individual and in the community. The average attendance at church services in the Church of Christ in Japan is about one-third, and the number actually communing is about one-half of the total membership. Prayer-meetings, however, are well attended. In this respect the Japanese Christians excel the members of our churches.

Sabbath observance is a perplexing question. The proprietary and duty of it are generally admitted, and the ministers do not fail to urge it, but the organization of society and the habits of the people are, of course, all against it. It is not made a matter of discipline or a test of fellowship. Many of the members, those who are teachers, civil and military officers, clerks in banks and other similar establishments, can and do observe the day, and there are even some cases of farmers and merchants doing so, but such cases are rare.

Private prayer and Bible reading are well observed. As to family prayer, the custom of asking a blessing at meals is well established, but I have no reason to think that the more formal erection of a family altar is as yet general.

The religious instruction of the children is left almost entirely to the Sunday school, after the American fashion, and with about the same results. Cate-

chisms are used to some extent, but not for children; for adults preparing for baptism.

Church discipline is, in the main, well enforced, especially for offenses against chastity. This means much in a country where divorce, concubinage, and similar evils are so common and so open.

The preaching of the Japanese ministers sometimes leaves something to be desired in simplicity of language, directness of spirtual aim and completeness and symmetry of doctrinal content. Positive heresy there is, I think, very little among the ministers of our church. Generally the preaching is fair, and often it is surpassingly good. The Japanese pulpit has already produced some notable pulpit orators.

Self-support has made remarkable progress during the last decade. In fact, it may be called one of the distinguishing marks of the period. Although, as stated already, the membership increase in ten years was only 45 per cent. the contributions during the same time rose from 94,275 Yen to 259,498, an increase of 175 per cent. The amendments to the constitution of the church were intended to eliminate from any share in the control of the denominational interests all congregations not bona fide self-supporting. From the standpoint of spiritual conceptions of church government it is impossible to justify such rules, but they may have some practical advantage.

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the church has made such progress that an excellent weekly religious paper can be maintained. It receives no subsidy of any kind from the missions. The editor in

chief* is a man of remarkable ability and is regarded among the Japanese as a champion of orthodoxy, although extreme in many of his views and methods, and rather unfriendly towards missionaries. He is at the same time pastor of a church in the capital, and both by his pulpit and by his editorial work is entitled to the name of leader of the church.

The spiritual and moral life of our churches in Japan is, on the whole, gratifying and encouraging. It is not such as to justify the expectations of that very considerable, and very unreasonable class who think that a Christian community just brought out of irreligion or heathenism should surpass in grace and zeal those who have had the blessings of the gospel for generations, but no one who is willing to make the proper allowances need be disappointed in our Japanese Christians. Their daily morality is far above that of their unconverted neighbors. Their religious knowledge is limited and their doctrinal conceptions are often painfully elementary, but I believe that they have a good degree of purity so far as they go. This is true of the average, while among those who are above the average there are men and women for whose Christian character, clearness of comprehension of the way of salvation, and unselfish zeal one cannot help having the greatest respect. Touching stories could be told of their simple faith and mutual love. Monuments they are of divine grace, blameless and harmless, the sons of God, holding forth the word of

*The Rev'd M. Uemura.

life, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom they shine as lights in the world.

With all that may be justly said in criticism of the church, especially of its confessional position, it remains true that many, both laymen and ministers, have merited the emphatic expression of confidence contained in one of the writings of Dr. Robert E. Speer, who says:

"How much credit the church and its leaders deserve can only be realized by those who have themselves passed through periods of intense intellectual and spiritual uncertainty, and yet have at the same time had to fight the battle of faith and certitude against agnosticism and naturalism. This is what the men of the Church of Christ have had to do. Less than a generation out of the old life of Japan, with no inherited equipment of moral and intellectual tendency drawing them to the truth, beaten as by the billows of a great storm, by surge after surge of error and fancy pouring in on them from Christian lands, a little handful, misunderstood and maligned, perplexed by the conflict of influences they could not stop to scrutinize and slay at cool leisure, dazzled and bewildered by the lights that flooded them, swung along constantly by the mad rush of the nation, they have kept their faces boldly towards Christ and his cross, and they have fought the battles of evangelical religion in a way that takes away from my heart any feelings but those of admiration and regard."

CHAPTER IV.

The Missions and the Native Church.

Of the many problems in connection with the missionary work, the most numerous and the most serious arise after the church on foreign soil has come into existence. To a study of these problems we propose to devote this lecture and the next. Those we shall consider at this time center about the missionaries, their organization among themselves, and the relations that ought to exist between them and the church.

The Mission Organization.

Let me first call your attention to the organization in which the missionaries, by direction of the Boards, are united. This is called the Mission. Usually all the missionaries in one field constitute one mission, but in Japan, by reason of the great distance between the two sections in which we operate, there are two missions, called respectively the North Japan and South Japan Missions. They are composed of all the missionaries of our church in these sections. These organizations are not large, but their business is very carefully conducted and their powers are very extensive. A missionary is largely under the control of his associates. They fix his residence, assign to him his work, pass upon his plans, direct him in the use of his time, examine him in his progress in the language,

send him home when he is so ill as to require it, determine the times when he shall return to the United States on furlough, and in other ways exercise authority over him such as is not found in any ecclesiastical assembly with which the American minister is acquainted.

If the mission has institutions, such as schools or hospitals, the mission is a Board of Directors with full charge of the same, and in that capacity determines the lines upon which they are to be conducted, engages and discharges at discretion the teachers and other employees, fixes their salaries, etc. It is the same in the evangelistic work. Who are to be employed as evangelists, where they are to be located, what compensation they are to receive, and similar questions, are all, directly or indirectly, under the authority of the mission. It is a body without any ecclesiastical standing, and carefully refrains from assuming any of the authority that belongs to a consistory, a classis, or a Synod, but its practical power is very great.

Its proceedings are necessarily private. By the rules of the Board no native of the country where the mission is located can be a member of it. Neither are its sessions open to any outsider. Its acts are never published, and it is a commonly understood and observed point of etiquette among missionaries that its affairs are not discussed with outsiders. No appeal lies against its acts by any person or body outside of its own membership. If one of its own members thinks it wise and right to appeal to the Board he can do so,

but he must have a strong and important case, indeed, to stand any chance of success. In nearly twenty years of missionary experience I have known only two cases of appeal and but one of these was sustained.

You will readily understand that the presence of five or six organizations of this nature alongside of a youthful church, in constant touch with it in one way and another, with considerable money to spend, gives rise to some important problems. The very first is whether on the basis of the Reformed and Presbyterian principles of church government, to which we stand committed, such an organization has any right to exist. Has the Presbyterian church polity, as laid down at Dortrecht and historically developed in the churches of Holland, Scotland and England, any place for it? It must be confessed that it has not. But then, for the matter of that, neither has that form of church polity any place for the missionary himself! To be sure, at present one may, in our church, be ordained as a missionary, but that is a comparatively recent provision. Originally no one could be ordained who did not have a call from a church. I understand that the churches in the Netherlands still feel this embarrassment, and are trying to overcome it by giving each missionary a call from some local church and then ordaining him on the strength of such a call. This is, at best, an awkward method of maintaining a theoretical consistency. It is better, in my judgment, frankly to admit that the missionary, and, á fortiori, the mission, have no place in the order under which we regulate our church life.

Embarrassment on this score, however, is much relieved, if it does not disappear altogether, when we remember that the Reformed church order was instituted for the benefit of the church in a Christian country. From beginning to end it contemplates the church as established and in undisputed possession of the field, which, indeed, was the case in Holland in the seventeenth century. The church order, therefore, is that of "ecclesia constituta," and has nothing to do with conditions existing in "ecclesia constituenda." Everything relating to the activity "ad intra" is accordingly provided for, but the activity "ad extra" is not touched upon. The situation corresponds to the distinction between civil and martial law. The authority of the officers who administer martial law is not defined in the regular civil codes, because such codes contemplate the country under loyal and peaceful conditions. The ordinary laws do make provision for a military force, and in general recognize the existence of such a thing as military law, but they do not specify in detail the manner in which it is to be exercised. They need not, for the authority of martial law is temporary, and exists either in a conquered or in a disturbed and rebellious country. As soon as it has accomplished its purpose, it gives way to the civil law, which is the permanent authority.

The case of the missionary in relation to the Reformed church order is similar. He is like the military officer who administers the martial law. He operates where the regular establishment is not yet set up. He may, therefore, rightly exercise remarkable

powers, distinctly beyond those which any minister in the home land may lay claim to, but his work is temporary. The missionary is not one of the officers essential to the permanent life of the church. In an ideal condition the other officers remain, he disappears. He is somewhat analogous, in the extraordinary powers he wields and in the temporary character of his office, to the apostles, who founded the church and left no successors.

The system established by the fathers of Dort and Westminster is, therefore, open to the objection of being too ideal, and of failing to recognize the importance of the activity "ad extra," but the office of the missionary is not in conflict with their system—it is only overlooked. Considering their system as intended to regulate conditions within the church, no embarrassment need be felt on account of the omission of the missionary, inasmuch as he, in his official capacity, has no place inside of, but always remains outside of her established life.

In the light of these principles, I wish briefly to discuss the question whether the ordained missionary should be a member of a classis in the native church, and then a little more fully to set forth the relations between the mission organizations of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and the Church of Christ in Japan.

The Missionaries and the Native Presbyteries.

If the views that have been set forth have obtained your assent, it should not be difficult to see that the

missionary, in his official capacity, is out of place in any assembly where the life of "ecclesia constituta" finds expression. This is equally true of the church in America and of that in the foreign field, considered as already well established. This does not hinder his having such a place during the immaturity of the church, for then the conditions of "ecclesia constituta" do not yet obtain. Our theoretical conclusion, therefore, is that a missionary ought not to sit in any church court, either at home or abroad, as a member with full powers.

He has, however, a relation of peculiar responsibility to the church that has sent him out, and, therefore, it is proper that he should be under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which relation is best expressed by his being and remaining a member of some classis in the home church. The question whether he should not become a bona fide member of one of the native presbyteries has been much discussed, and some missionaries, especially of the Presbyterian Church, have become members of presbyteries in Japan, but the trend of opinion is away from that practice at present, and the authorities of the Presbyterian Church, who at one time favored it, are now taking the opposite view. It is, however, not only a theoretical, but also a practical matter, and in spite of the views here set forth, if I were convinced that important advantages would result from my joining a Japanese presbytery as full member, I should not hesitate to ask for a transfer. At present I am not so convinced. My theory and practice, therefore, on this point coincide.

The history of the relations of the ordained missionaries to the Japanese presbyteries has followed pretty well the lines here laid down. At first they were full members of those bodies, or rather, were endowed with the full powers of members without surrendering their membership in the home churches, and without putting themselves under the jurisdiction of the native church. They enjoyed this exceptional position *ex-officio*, as missionaries. In 1890 this was changed, and they had no longer any *ex-officio* rights, but could be, and invariably were, elected Advisory Members, able to speak and to serve on committees, but not to vote. This lasted for sixteen years, when advisory membership was again made *ex-officio*, but on certain conditions, which were accepted by the missions of the Presbyterian and German Reformed churches, but were rejected by us and the Southern Presbyterians. What these conditions were and what is the significance of the whole movement must now be considered.

Previously to the year 1886, there were no formal relations before the Church of Christ in Japan and the several Presbyterian and Reformed Missions. These missions were, however, united among themselves in a Council called at first "The Council of United Missions," which name was later changed to "The Council of Missions Co-Operating with the Church of Christ in Japan." In 1886 a sort of partnership was formed between this Council and the Church, according to which the missions were to put in three dollars for every dollar that was contributed

by the Japanese, and the resultant fund was to be used for evangelistic work, being administered in each Presbytery by a committee composed of Japanese and missionaries in equal numbers. The underlying principle of this arrangement is the view of the missionary purpose to which I referred in the first lecture as the Church establishment theory, namely that upon the native church rests the responsibility of evangelizing the country, and that in this enterprise the American churches, if they are to work at all, must do so through the native church organization. Accordingly, although the Japanese contributed but one-fourth of the expenses, they had one-half of the control. Accordingly, also, all the members, foreigners, as well as Japanese, were the appointers of the Japanese assemblies, and responsible to them. Personally they were members of the missions, officially, in directing the evangelistic work, they were responsible, not to their respective missions, but to the Church. Receipts for the money contributed by the missions were written to the effect that such a mission had appropriated so and so much to the evangelistic work of the Church of Christ in Japan.

At the outset, it was expected that, with the growth of the Church, which was then doubling in membership every three years, the contributions would also rapidly increase, so that soon the money to be appropriated by the missions would absorb the entire sum at their disposal. In that case all such work would automatically pass into the hands of the joint committees, and the missions, as such, would cease to do

any evangelistic work. It was, therefore, in one sense, a preparation for the time, expected soon to come, when missionary work in Japan would cease, and the missionaries be withdrawn, except for financial assistance to be extended by the church in America to that in Japan. You will remember the statement quoted in the first lecture from the Twelfth Annual Report of the Council of Missions: "We may anticipate the close of this foreign missionary enterprise by the close of the nineteenth century." With such expectations it was surely not too early, in 1886, to begin preparations for a suitable organization to carry on the work after the withdrawal of the missions.

These expectations were not, however, realized. When the reaction set in, about the year 1890, so far from the church being able to make constant gains in contributions, it did not even live up to its contract to pay one-fourth of the expense of the work in hand, and a debt of 290 yen thus incurred was remitted by the Council in 1895. In the meantime the increasing liberality of the American churches placed larger appropriations in the hands of the missions, so that the portion of the evangelistic work administered by them grew larger instead of smaller, and the probability of its being taken over by the joint committee became more and more remote. No one could be enthusiastic over such a scheme, and the church made certain proposals for amendment, which were not accepted by the missions. During the discussion, it was suggested by the Council that it would be more satisfactory in every way if the church had its own independent board of missions. This suggestion was acted upon,

and in 1894 the Synod organized its own Board, with both financial responsibility and control entirely in the hands of the Church. This was a great step forward, and this Board has done splendid work. It has brought a number of churches to self-support. It raises now the sum of about five thousand dollars a year, and during 1909 maintained or assisted work in twelve places, of which four were in Japan, one in Formosa, three in Korea and four in Manchuria.

The partnership between the Church and the missions came to an end with the organization of this Board. Let us now note that in the year 1890, while this partnership was still well established, the constitution had been revised, and the missionaries of the missions co-operating with the Church of Christ in Japan had been made eligible to election as Advisory Members of Presbytery and Synod. The word used was "Co-operating," but the nature of the co-operation was not defined. No one felt any need of defining it, as every one knew perfectly well which missions were intended.

After the partnership between the missions and the Church had ceased, however, the question was raised what relations existed or ought to exist between the Church and the missions. The Synod, in 1895, directed the presbyteries to appoint committees to inquire into these relations, and the reports of these committees were considered in 1897. The result was the declaration that not a single case of proper co-operation could be found, and the following definition was adopted:

"A co-operating mission is one that plans and executes all its evangelistic operations through a committee, composed of equal numbers of the representatives of a mission, working within the bounds of a presbytery of the Church of Christ of Japan, and of the members of the said presbytery."

The new points to be noted in this definition are that this speaks of *"all"* the evangelistic work, and that the church proposes to assume *none* of the financial burden. By this definition the church claimed that the missions, if they wished to "co-operate" with the Church of Christ in Japan, ought to put her in the position she would have attained through the old plan, if it had worked well. Had she developed in size and consecration as that plan contemplated, she would have obtained one-half the control of the evangelistic work as soon as she had the ability and willingness to shoulder one-fourth of the expense. In this definition she came forward with a proposal that she be granted the same degree of authority over the work as she would in that case have had, without possessing any such degree of financial and spiritual development.

There was no disposition whatever on the part of the missions to agree to this proposal. They courteously responded, giving their own ideas of true co-operation, as follows:

Co-operation is, in the opinion of the Council, best carried on where the Japanese church organization, in its sessions, presbyteries and synod, directs all ecclesiastical matters, availing itself of the counsels of the missions or missionaries as occasion arises, while the missions direct their own educational, evangelistic and other missionary operations, availing

themselves, likewise, of whatever counsel or assistance they may be able to obtain from their brethren in the Japanese church.

The Ideal of the Synod was, therefore: A formal partnership, in which the Church should have equal control without any financial responsibility. That of the Council was: Each supreme in his own department, and an informal alliance whereby each should be consulted by the other. Various committees were appointed and conferences were held for the purpose of reconciling these divergent views, but the negotiations ended in nothing but expressions of mutual esteem, and the matter was dropped for a period of nearly ten years, during which the work grew and prospered, and the personal relations between the missionaries and the Japanese were, with the inconsiderable exceptions that are always unavoidable, of the most pleasant and fraternal kind.

These years were years of development along various lines. The war with Russia intervened, and of necessity left the nation in a state of aroused national self-assertion and elated with a pardonable national pride. The churches had recovered from the effects of the reaction, and felt themselves constantly gaining financial, intellectual and spiritual strength. A considerable number of them had become self-supporting, and as local churches had no longer any connection, direct or indirect, with foreign missions or missionaries. Many of the older missionaries, intimately acquainted with and highly esteemed by the leaders of the Japanese church, retired, or died, or lost the

controlling influence in their respective organizations which they formerly enjoyed. The result was a natural and inevitable loss of acquaintance and contact between the men who controlled the policy of the missions and those who guided the Japanese church. Moreover, there was not only a change of personnel; the younger men, in many cases, held radically different ideas in regard to the missionary work from those which ruled in the latter eighties. At the time when the original partnership between the missions and the church failed, it was regretted by the leading missionaries as postponing the time when the work of the missions could be turned over to the church, which turning over was nevertheless looked forward to as certain to come some day when the church was better developed. This view was shared by the native church, which had been thoroughly indoctrinated with this idea in the period of prosperity and had clung to it. It was shared also in another very influential quarter, viz.: among the officers of the Boards at home, who had not forgotten the roseate prophecies of the latter eighties, and were still waiting for the original program to be carried out.

Neither the waiting church nor the waiting Boards fully realized that in the meantime a great change had come over the missions, which had become, to large extent, converts to the view expressed by Mr. Robert E. Speer, to the effect that church and mission are radically distinct conceptions, with distinct functions, and that these must not be confused. From this it follows that the work of the mission is *never* to be turned

over to the church, any more than the work of the church is to be turned over to the missions. This was nothing less than a revolution in the fundamental conception of the matter. According to this view, not only had the original partnership failed to accomplish its purpose, but the purpose itself was bad! Such men were not waiting for the time to come when the original purpose could be carried into effect, but were ready to resist to the bitter end all attempts in that direction.

A notable change of view of the opposite kind was found in Mr. Speer himself. In his report on Japan, in 1898, he stated and defended in the clearest manner the principles advocated in these lectures, but seven or eight years later was found, to our great surprise, in the other camp.

A cloud as big as a man's hand appeared in the Synod in 1904, in the form of a motion that all churches not wholly self-supporting in two years should be disbanded. One of the reasons in favor of this action, urged upon the floor of the Synod, was that a supported congregation was necessarily somewhat under the control of the supporting mission and that so long as there were such congregations in the Church of Christ in Japan, the said church was not completely and really independent. A strong party in the Synod was opposed to this motion, and succeeded in defeating it for the time being. It was sure, however, to come up again, and in order to deprive this argument of any force, the party opposed to the motion, in the interval between the Synod of 1904 and that

of 1905, began unofficial negotiations, to see whether the basis of co-operation offered by the Synod in 1897 might not, after all, be adopted. They presented the matter to the Council in the summer of 1905, but that body, after full discussion, adopted resolutions practically re-affirming its own action of 1897.

The Synod then took the unusual step of preparing a communication to the churches, a sort of pastoral letter, in which it set forth a history of the discussion, and of sending a formal communication on the subject to the Boards in America. These Boards thereupon did the unprecedented, and, to our minds, unpardonable thing of replying to this communication directly, *without any consultation with the missions*. The replies of the Presbyterian Board and of our own were practically identical, indeed, our Board said that it adopted as its own the letter of that Board. These letters were couched in general terms, and yet were afterwards explained by our Corresponding Secretary as committing and as intended to commit the Board to the admission that in principle the demand of the church was reasonable and ought to be granted. Really, there was something of truth in the astonishing statement made by Dr. Ibuka, one of the Japanese leaders upon the floor of the Synod, that the missionaries who opposed the demands of the church did not understand the position of their own Boards.

The church did not altogether lack champions within the circle of the missionaries. Dr. William Imbrie, already referred to as the Presbyterian missionary who wrote the constitution and the confession of faith

of the Church of Christ in Japan, was the recognized advocate of the church, and managed that side of the campaign in the struggle that followed.

The first thing he did was to propose to the Synod a new definition of a Co-operating Mission. This was adopted in 1906, and is as follows:

A Co-operating Mission is one that recognizes the right of the Church of Christ in Japan to the general supervision* of all evangelistic work done by the mission as a mission within the church or in connection with it; and which carries on such work under an arrangement based on the foregoing principle, and approved by the Synod, acting through the Board of Missions.

In this definition nothing is said about having a joint committee with equal numbers of Japanese and missionaries, which had been the great stumbling block, but this omission is of little importance, for it is provided that any arrangement entered into must have the approval of the Japanese Board of Missions, and it was at once made clear that the said Board would insist upon the joint committee.

The most significant difference between this definition and the former utterances of the Synod is found in the open and definite assertion of a principle that was really involved in the entire attitude of the Church from the beginning, viz.: that the church might of right claim supervision over the evangelistic

*Often translated "general care." The original, however, does not properly admit so mild a rendering. It deservedly asserts supervision, authority, control.

work of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches, so long as those churches wished to stand in any sort of alliance or connection with itself. Hitherto the church had been content to ask that a certain method of procedure should be followed. In this action she brought forward a demand that not only this rejected method should be adopted, but that the principle involved in it should be clearly recognized and formally accepted.

This principle was nothing less than that the Presbyterian and Reformed missions should acknowledge themselves to be, in their evangelistic work, officially subordinate to the Church of Christ in Japan.† Let it be remembered that when we speak of the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions, we really speak of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of America, considered in their evangelistic activity within the Japanese empire. The question may, therefore, be fairly re-stated thus: Should the American churches working in Japan henceforth do so as the equals of the Church in that country, or in subordination to it; should they judge for themselves in regard to times, places, methods and persons through whom they work, or should they in all of these respects work under the supervision of the Japanese church retaining for themselves only so much control of their own work as is

†The correctness of this statement will be strenuously denied by some, who hold that the Church claims merely a place of equal, not of paramount authority. Let its readers, however, carefully examine the wording of the Definition as well as the arguments of Drs. A. J. Brown and Geo. W. Fulton, quoted below.

acceptable to the church and continuing it only so long as that church desires their assistance? Accepting it as admitted on all hands that they do not desire to establish any new church, but to contribute all the results of their efforts to the growth of the Church of Christ in Japan, does that logically involve the idea that they are working within the field of the said church by its permission, or is it also possible to consider them as allies, laboring together for a common object, but alongside of one another, as equals, not in a relation of official supervision on the one side and subordination on the other?

It is easy to see that this is no superficial question, but a very deep one, depending for its solution upon our views of the nature of the church and of the missionary work. It is also a very broad question, for there is nothing in it that limits it to local conditions or confines it to the Church of Christ in Japan. I have no hesitation in saying that within missionary circles it is a problem of world-wide importance, for in one form or another, sooner or later, this question will demand an answer in every field and in the relations of every missionary church to the child it has begotten on foreign soil.

The discussion that followed was a notable one, involving much spiritual conflict, argument, negotiation and correspondence. The result was a drawn battle. Three of the missions, viz.: the German Reformed Mission and those of the Presbyterian Church North, accepted the definition formulated by the Synod and are now working under it. Three others, that of the

Southern Presbyterian Mission and those of the Reformed Church in America, rejected the definition and definitely refused to work under it. It must be admitted that the three agreeing are stronger than the three in opposition. On the other hand, the three in opposition have taken this stand with practical unanimity, while in the case of the others the action was taken in the face of opposition from strong minorities, and under pressure from the home Boards. Among the Boards, all but the Southern Presbyterian Executive Committee approved the position of the Church of Christ. The stand taken by our own Board was so decided that for a time it looked as if a serious conflict must take place between the Board and its missionaries, but that was happily averted when the Board, earnestly protesting its dissent from the position of the mission, nevertheless left the final decision to its representatives on the field.

It is, of course, not possible here to go into the arguments by which the opposing positions were sustained. Many of them were based on local conditions, and were legitimate enough in the presence of a concrete proposal, without having any interest for us as students of the principles of missions. Others, stripped of their verbiage, meant nothing else than that peace must be preserved at any price. To yield important points for such a reason may avoid trouble for the present, but sows the seed of more trouble in time to come.

It the last analysis, however, one's position on this point, both in Japan and elsewhere, will depend on

one's view of the emphasis to be laid on the church, in relation to the fundamental purpose of missions, as developed in the first lecture of this series. This comes out clearly in the following quotations from arguments in favor of approving the position of the Church of Christ in Japan.

Dr. Arthur J. Brown, secretary of the Presb. Board, in his Report on Japan, says:

"The Native Church does not exist in the interest of the Mission and the Board, but the Mission and the Board exist in the interest of the Church. If the two clash, every effort should be made to bring about harmony, but if compromise is impossible, then the Mission and the Board should yield."

Again he says:

"Our responsibility for a people continues after the Church is in the field, but it continues through and in co-operation with the Church, and not independently of it."

The following illustration from the pen of the Rev. G. W. Fulton, D. D., one of the Presbyterian missionaries, puts the position very plainly:

"Now, if I own a garden, and a man comes along and wants to dig, I will let him hoe and plant and water to his heart's content, if he will only do it where and how I want it, but if not, he will have to stay out of my garden. He may think he can do it without direction from me, in fact, he may know more about gardening than I do, but nevertheless it is my garden, and I am supposed to have some ideas as to how I want it, and I will certainly insist on my rights to have my fruits and vegetables grown according to my purpose and desire.

"To apply this, the Church of Christ thinks that we are trying to work in its garden, without its direction. Very recently it has arisen in the dignity of ownership and demanded that either we work according to mind or leave the premises. The church is within its rights in this demand, and the mission should recognize this. . . . I would express my conviction that the Church of Christ has reached such a size and strength and influence that the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in America have little if any moral right to continue Christian work in this country for any length of time unless they can arrange to conduct their enterprise in connection with that church."

Thus far Dr. Fulton.

Here we have the naked issue. Upon the basis of the Church Establishment theory of Missions, discussed and rejected in our first lecture, these men are right, and if they are right then the demands of the Church in Japan also are just and reasonable.

Upon the basis of the theory we have held to be the true one; that it is our purpose to overthrow the heathenism of Japan and to plant Christianity in its place, we oppose to the above view a most emphatic contradiction. The American churches hold their commission to evangelize Japan, not from the church they have themselves called into being, but from a much higher source. Their responsibility to perform it does not continue through and in co-operation with the Church, as Dr. Brown says, but independently of it, a responsibility to God alone. It is their earnest wish to continue to do this work in alliance with the Church of Christ in Japan, but such an alliance is too dearly bought if it involves an acknowledgment of subordina-

tion. The alleged right of the church to demand that either we work according to its mind or leave the premises, as Dr. Fulton states it, is absolutely denied. Dr. Brown asserts that: The Mission and the Board exist in the interest of the Church. We admit no such thing. This is to substitute the means for the end. The Mission and the Board exist to evangelize and Christianize Japan. As a means to that end the Church of Christ in Japan was established. We neither desire nor intend to establish any other, but we would establish ten more, if necessary, to attain the end.

Historically, we charge upon the theory here condemned the colossal and disastrous miscalculation of the latter eighties, the discouragement and retirement of many a young missionary, and the absurd and paralyzing misapprehensions so current in the American churches in regard to the conditions of missionary work in Japan, for none of these things could have been suffered but for the virus of the sentiment: The Mission and the Board exist in the interest of the Church.

Turning to the future, we are confident that a successful and vigorous work is ultimately possible only to that mission which, cultivating relations of the closest alliance and the most cordial harmony with the native church, so far as that may be possible by the exercise of every Christian grace and virtue, nevertheless remembers that it represents an American church in its activity "ad extra," and that, therefore refuses to surrender its power of independent initiative and operation, maintaining always a clear vision of its

purpose and a keen sense of responsibility to preach Christ to the heathen, in alliance with the native church organization, if it may, without it if it must—subordinate, never.

Let no one attribute such a position to race pride, to a love of power, or to an obstinate unwillingness to be subordinate where sudorbination is in order. It springs from none of these things, but from rejection of the fundamental principle upon which the notion of the subordination of the American churches in their work in Japan is based. If the evangelization and Christianization of Japan is the task of the Japanese church, and if we are there merely to assist in what is really her work and not ours, by all means let us be subordinate. But in that case the Japanese church has the right not only to give directions, but to indicate whether it wishes many missionaries or few, and of what kind. It is not surprising that we find words like this in Dr. Brown's report:

The Japanese leaders insisted that appointments should be limited to men of first-class ability who can co-operate with the Japanese church. Missions that transfer to others the right of judging how many men and what sort of men are needed for the work will hear more of this insistence in time to come.

Moreover, in such a case the church has at once the right to indicate when our services are no longer required. If we are merely assistants of the church, to do a work that is really hers, this follows as a matter of course. Could we, then, urge young men to offer themselves to be missionaries in Japan? Could

we assure them that there was a life work waiting for them in that country? I think not, if the desire of the Japanese church is to be the standard, for I do not see how any one can possibly predict the spirit and temper of that church, ten, twenty or thirty years hence. If we are officially subordinate to that church organization, I am not at all sure that there is a life work for a young man in Japan. Accordingly, where you find missionaries in Japan retiring without apparent cause, or discussing the approaching end of missionary work in that country, or advising young men to seek fields of labor elsewhere, or insisting that only a few men of extraordinary talents should be sent, you will almost invariably find that they are adherents of this idea, that we are merely the helpers of the native church.

If, on the other hand, we as a church have a primary responsibility of our own, to preach Christ where He has not been named, then large and populous districts issue to us the Macedonian call. It is because I hold this view, because our missions in Japan hold it, and because our Board has had the wisdom to defer to the almost unanimous convictions of its missionaries on this vital point that I am able with heart and soul to extend to the students of this seminary a pressing invitation to come out to Japan, assuring you that there is work enough and to spare for us and for our children after us.

CHAPTER V.

The Evangelistic Work After the Establishment of the Church.

In the previous lecture we discussed the nature and function of a mission, and the relation which the missions bear to the native church. In the present lecture we shall first consider the relations between the native church and those congregations and believers who are connected with the missions, and then turn our attention to the task which the missions have to accomplish, the persons through whom and the methods by which that work is to be done.

From the organization of the Church of Christ in Japan until the year 1905, the relations between that church and the congregations receiving help from one of our missions were very simple. All believers belonged either to an organized local church or to what was called a "Preaching Place," which was a group of believers too small to be organized into a church. In the case of the local church there were, of course, elders and deacons, who had the rights and duties connected with those offices. The "preaching places" stood under the direct spiritual oversight of the classis. Local affairs were managed by a committee selected from the membership, but as there was no consistory, the important spiritual functions of admitting members to the communion and, in case just cause existed, debarring them from the same, were per-

formed by the classis, acting through a committee of ministers and elders. Besides these fully organized churches and "preaching places," there were many places where only a few believers were found. These had their membership in the nearest organization, and were thus subject to the oversight of the proper authorities. It will be noticed that no ecclesiastical function of any kind was exercised by the missionary. He could, indeed, baptize whomever he thought fit. That right missionaries have exercised since the days of Philip the evangelist, and the propriety of their doing so is not open to dispute, but no such baptism by a missionary made the baptized person a member of the Church of Christ in Japan. He could become such only when regularly admitted.

Alongside of the ecclesiastical supervision exercised by the Church, there was another sort of supervision that was exercised by the mission. This was the practical oversight resulting from the fact that the missionaries were the representatives of the American churches that were assisting the Japanese with their maturity of religious experience, their deeper spiritual knowledge, and their superior financial strength. At first all the fully organized churches were receiving financial assistance from the missions, and the preachers who ministered to the smaller groups of believers were in their employ. To withdraw the assistance given a church, or to discharge the evangelist was obviously within the authority of the mission, and became its duty as soon as it was clear that the funds were not well bestowed.

Under these circumstances practically everybody in the church had a two-fold connection: on the one hand to the mission, as a member of a supported congregation or as an evangelist; and on the other to a church or presbytery. There was no conflict between these relations, since the one form of supervision was strictly practical and the other was spiritual; the one temporary, and the other permanent. No sooner did a church attain to self-support than all connection with the mission ceased; no sooner was an evangelist called to the pastorate of such a self-supporting congregation than the same thing took place in his case. As the self-supporting churches were certain, in the course of time, greatly to exceed, both in numbers and in influence, the work that had any connection with the missions, one had only to wait for time to bring about a natural and easy solution of the difficulties and problems involved. In spite of all the discussions of the past few years, this arrangement still seems to me to be based upon sound principles. It gives to the church the things that are the church's, and to the mission the things that are the mission's.

The first important change took place in this situation six years ago, when the Synod passed a resolution providing that only self-supporting churches should be permitted to exist in the Church of Christ in Japan, and that, accordingly, all the churches unable to support themselves after two years should become "preaching places." The necessary amendments were made to the constitution, and the name of "preaching places" was changed to "mission

churches," which does not imply that these organizations receive support from the missions (some of them, in fact, do not), but only that they are "mission enterprises" as that term is often used in this country, to designate something that is expected to develop into a church in the course of time.

Much can be said in defense of this action. The idea that no congregation should be recognized as a full-fledged, self-governing local church until it can support itself is not peculiar to the Church of Christ in Japan. In our Amoy Mission it is the rule, and has, I think, been the rule from the beginning, that no group shall be organized as a church before it is ready to assume self-support. The Council of Missions in Japan had already, in 1897, recommended that this rule should be adopted in regard to all churches organized thereafter.

This practice has also obvious advantages. The company of believers is not endowed with the functions and responsibilities of a church before it is ready to exercise those functions and to discharge those obligations. The chief functions of a local congregation are to govern itself through elders and deacons and to provide for the regular preaching of the gospel. Neither of these functions can be perfectly discharged so long as the congregation is dependent on a mission. Self-government is interfered with even under the best conditions so long as the church is bound to consult an outside party, the mission, in some of its most important acts, such as the choice of a pastor. That it stands under the authority of the presbytery is no

such interference with its liberties, because the authority of that body is recognized and provided for in the church government, but when a congregation is really governed, in part, by a mission, a body quite outside of the denomination to which the congregation belongs, its self-government is certainly imperfect in fact, however much it may be admitted in theory.

Another consideration that influenced the Synod in passing such a rule was a strong desire to show before the world that the denomination known as the Church of Christ in Japan was in no sense under the government of foreigners. This could not be maintained so long as the representatives of mission-aided churches sat in presbytery and Synod, with full powers. Hence all supported churches were disbanded and reorganized upon a provisional basis, having no real elders and deacons, only a committee. Their representatives were permitted to come into the presbyteries as advisory, or corresponding members, but not to vote. This action effectually eliminated from the denomina tional assemblies all votes that had any connection with the foreigners.

We can thus see how the Synod came to take this action, and what it was intended to accomplish. It is another question whether such a rule ought to be approved upon the basis of the system of ecclesiastical government to which the Church stands committed. It does not seem to me to be defensible, upon those or upon any other sound and scriptural conceptions of the nature of the church, since it sets up a financial standard for the exercise of spiritual functions. The

way to test any principle is to apply it, not to abnormal, but to normal conditions. If the principle is sound, it must be applicable to the settled and established conditions of church life. It seems clear that it would not be admitted to be sound when so applied. Can any one say that the churches assisted by our Board of Domestic Missions are not real churches and are not competent to perform the real functions of churches just because they lack money enough to pay all their expenses? What possible basis can be found in Scripture, or in the practice of the Christian church down the centuries, for the requirement that a body of believers must have a certain degree of financial strength before it can be organized as a church?

However, to return to Japan, the deed was done, and all churches not self-supporting lost their standing as churches in 1907. In the meantime the definition of a Co-operating Mission had been adopted, and the missions had been invited to agree to its provisions. Since only one mission had accepted this invitation by the time the Synod met, in 1907, that body took up for consideration the question what was to be done with those missions that refused, and the following resolution was passed:

In order to preserve the unity of the Church of Christ in Japan a clear distinction shall be made between the evangelistic work of

(a) Missions which by September 30th, 1908, do not co-operate according to the Definition,

(b) of our own church, and

(c) of Co-operating Missions,

and it shall then be made perfectly clear that the former shall have no connection whatever with the Church of Christ in Japan.

Dr. Ibuka, President of the Meiji Gakuin, issued an explanatory statement, in which he says:

By a clear distinction between the evangelistic work of those missions which do not co-operate and that of the Church and of the Missions which do co-operate is not meant a simple distinction in classification, but a real separation in fact.

Such aided churches and such members of aided churches as decide to remain in connection with the Church of Christ in Japan will be aided by the Church to the best of its ability. No undue pressure will be brought to bear. Aided churches which prefer to retain their connection with non-co-operating missions will be entirely free to do so, but they must take their choice. The natural result will be that non-co-operating missions and the aided churches which retain their connection with them will organize a new church, or new churches.

Bluntly stated, this meant that after September, 1908, a certain number of weak congregations and their members would be put out of the Church of Christ in Japan, bag and baggage, if they continued to receive assistance from missions which refused to declare themselves officially subordinate to the Synod. There was brought against these assisted congregations and the missions with which they were associated absolutely no charge of irregularity or unfaithfulness in conduct or doctrine. This action was taken by the representatives of the self-supporting churches almost every one of which owed its existence and development to the very connection which had now become so

great an offense that those who received it could not be tolerated within the church!

This proposal naturally aroused much opposition. One prominent Japanese minister, a teacher in the theological department of the Meiji Gakuin, compared the action of the Synod to the murder of the children in Bethlehem, by King Herod. The opposition to it secured, by parliamentary manoeuvering, a temporary majority in the Presbytery of Tokyo, and took advantage of that fact to memorialize the Synod to rescind this action. The memorial was rejected, but the opposition to Synod's action was not altogether without effect. It was one of the contributing causes which led to the adoption, in the Synod of 1909, of what is called the "Affiliation" plan. Although the Synod of 1907 had declared in the most emphatic terms of which the Japanese language is capable that there should be absolutely no connection between the evangelistic work of a non-co-operating mission and the Church of Christ in Japan, and had apparently contemplated with equanimity the prospect of the organization of a new denomination, it had relented a little by the fall of 1909, and offered a kind of compromise in certain Articles of Agreement.

Briefly stated, the missions undertook, in these articles, to organize no churches and to employ as evangelists only men who had been examined and licensed by the Church. Further, that when the congregations gathered by them became churches, they should apply for organization to the Church of Christ in Japan. As the missions had all along observed these practices,

consent to such conditions was not difficult. On the other hand, the missions obtained, for themselves, definite recognition as allies of this church. The exclusion of the congregations receiving aid was not revoked. It was even re-affirmed in the words: "Churches and preaching places aided by the Missions shall have no organic connection with the Church of Christ in Japan;" but at the same time they were directed to report to Presbytery annually their spiritual and financial condition, and their statistics were to be given in a separate column. They were thus quasi members or stepchildren of the Church. Japanese evangelists and ministers connected with the missions were to have the standing of Advisory or Corresponding Members in Presbytery and Synod.

The missions that had refused to co-operate according to the definition of 1906 promptly accepted this compromise. It did not require anything of them which they were unwilling to do, and as for the action in cutting off the aided churches, while they strongly disapproved it, they considered it a question between those churches and the Synod, with which they were not obliged to interfere. If there had been any desire to organize a new denomination, the circumstances offered a splendid occasion, but every one was sincerely anxious to avoid such a calamity, and so the ousted congregations were advised that it was better for the time being to bear the injustice of the Synod's action patiently than to rush into the evils of a schism.

That the action was unjust surely requires no argument. Considered from the standpoint of the Scrip-

tures or upon the basis of any kind of ecclesiastical government ever seen in the Church universal, the action of the Synod in excluding from denominational fellowship a number of congregations and members against whom no offense was even alleged is so extraordinary, so unjustifiable, so inherently unreasonable and un-Christian that it is difficult to discuss it in terms of respect. If any one should build upon this whole transaction and certain other things an argument that the Church of Christ in Japan is not yet really fit for self-government, it would not be easy to answer him. When we think of the many excellent qualities of faith and zeal which are abundantly seen in the life of the Church of Christ in Japan, we must admit that her views of church government are the least respectable part of her outfit. What shall we do, then, as missionaries and supporters of the missionary work in Japan? Nothing at all, but to be patient with the church, to pray for it, and upon proper opportunity to advocate the highest conceptions of the spiritual nature and divine authority of the church and its government. It is of no use to scold the church, or to rail at it. Let us wait calmly, patiently, prayerfully. Better days will come by and by. There is already a considerable party that knows better, as witness the action of the Tokyo presbytery. Many churches and individuals who have been cut off will presently resume their places in the Church. With deeper spirituality and growing maturity of conception will come other thoughts, and sooner or later this matter will be set right. Only, we shall take good care to maintain

our independence as missions and see to it that the Church of Christ in Japan exercises no control over our work, even in part.

Certainly the very worst thing we could do in connection with all the problems hitherto discussed would be to make the attitude of the native church a reason for being less concerned over the spiritual destitution of Japan. Let us be true, in our mental and spiritual attitude no less than in our official action, to our fundamental conception of the missionary purpose, viz., that missions and missionaries exist, not for the benefit of the church, whether at home or abroad, but for those who are without; that our place and work lie, not "ad intra" to the church, even to the church in a heathen country, but "ad extra" to it, in spiritually unexplored, unoccupied, and unconquered territory. Our relations to the Church are indeed important. If properly adjusted (as I think they will be, in course of time) they will help, and if improperly adjusted they will hinder us greatly, but when all is said and done, the importance of these relations is secondary and not primary. The primary thing is our calling as sent to the gentiles, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them that are sanctified. We are unfaithful to this calling if we allow the defects and mistakes of the native church to dampen our ardor for the accomplishment of our work.

It is not easy for one who has never been in Japan to realize the greatness of the missionary task that still

remains in that country. The impression made by all the extravagant accounts and predictions in regard to the progress of the work still lingers, so that even in well informed circles the truth is heard with surprise, and is considered well nigh incredible. The fact is that in proportion to her population Japan has fewer Christians than India, and not half so many as Africa. In Africa the figure is one Protestant communicant to 324 of the population, in India, one to 563, and in Japan one to 851.* Not only that, but the population of Japan is increasing at the rate of half a million a year, which means that every day there are 1,350 more Japanese to be evangelized than there were the day before, and that the number of unevangelized heathen in the country is greater to-day by ten millions than it was when the first missionaries set foot upon its shores. To put the same facts in another way, the increase in the number of unevangelized Japanese every three months is greater than the total number of all the converts of all the missions since the beginning of the work.

It results that there are extensive districts where the gospel has never yet been preached. Some years ago I was travelling through one of the fertile districts in Kiushiu, and I counted on the surface of the plain sixteen or seventeen villages. Many of the people were at work in the fields, and the country was like a great bee-hive. The question could not help arising how soon these villages would hear the gospel. It has not been answered yet, for so far as I know there

*Calculated from the statistics of the Edinburgh Conference.

has not yet been a single sermon preached in that district. A similar impression was made upon me on another occasion, when travelling by steamer with a friend along the coast. Village after village had been passed when I asked him how soon he thought the gospel would penetrate to these remote places. He replied sadly, but with profound conviction: "These people will die in their sins, and their children after them, before they have any chance to hear the gospel of Christ."

As there are extensive districts, so there are great classes yet unreached. The Protestant movement in Japan is undeniably to some extent a class movement. Almost untouched as yet are the artisan, merchant and farming classes, comprising nine-tenths of the people. Especially must one be impressed with the almost hopeless case of the agricultural population. "Climb up any hill and look out over the plain where the rice fields stretch out like a great green lake dotted over with islands. Every wooded "island" is a village full of people, and for every hamlet you see there are hundreds which you can not see, hidden away in the mountain valley or by the deep sea inlet." (Edinburgh Conference Reports, Commission 4, p. 79).

Here are the "regions beyond" of Japan. The native church, however zealous, is not in direct contact with these people, and can reach them only by definitely sending out men as missionaries from herself. This she has not the strength to do, except to a very limited extent. In those villages lies the missionary field of the future.

The Christianization of Japan, considered as a whole, involves all the work "ad intra" as well as the work "ad extra", and in this view the position of greatest responsibility and leadership belongs unquestionably to the native church. In the definitely "ad extra" work, however, she stands side by side with her American sisters, able to furnish but a small fraction of the men and means required. The remaining heathen, whom she cannot touch, make the same demand upon the American church that is made by a similar mass of unevangelized humanity anywhere in the world.

The response of the American church to this demand must be made primarily through her own sons and daughters, that is, through missionaries. Financial help is not what is most needed. This, at best, will only avail to enable the Japanese church to make full use of the Christian manhood and womanhood she already possesses. Much more precious and important than that is the importation of deep spiritual life, unshaken religious conviction, and intense evangelistic fervor, all this embodied in consecrated and highly educated Christian manhood and womanhood. This is the highest contribution which any country can make to the welfare of another, the most costly to give and the most precious to receive.

Such men and women will find now and for unmeasured years to come, an abundant opportunity for the highest usefulness in Japan, and that, first of all, in their individual work, as preachers, Sunday School teachers, personal workers, in house to house visita-

tion, in tract distribution, and in numerous other ways. In this work they will encounter great difficulties, but if they are worthy of the missionary calling they will not be daunted by them. They must learn the language, let them do it. The Japanese language is not the bugbear that some make of it. It is true that, taken as a whole, in its spoken and written, lower and higher, scientific and idiomatic aspects it is probably the most difficult language the human race has ever known, but it is also true that a missionary need not learn all of it, and that so much of it as one needs to do good missionary work is not beyond the reach of any person of fair ability, good education, and willingness to study.

The habits and customs of the people are strange to us and their ways of thinking are not like our own. Very well, let the missionary go to work with sympathy and patience and much of this darkness will be cleared up. If he is willing to be all things to all men he can learn to eat unwonted food with chop-sticks, to take off his shoes when he enters the house, to sleep on the floor, and to do numerous other things according to native customs. Let him honestly seek to find common ground with the people, assuming that there is some good sensible reason behind even the strangest customs, and little by little he will have gained their confidence, will feel at home among them, and will discover that the things in which men are alike are far more numerous and of profounder importance than the things in which they differ. Meanwhile the people

will discover the same thing in regard to the missionary, and then the way is open for real influence.

To be sure, there are difficulties that are never fully overcome. To the last he remains a foreigner, and hence he is in many points at a serious disadvantage as compared with a Japanese of equal ability and education. This conscious and hopeless inferiority, of which he is often reminded, sometimes in a friendly and sometimes in an unfriendly way, remains one of the bitterest things for a high spirited American, a constant school of humility and self-control. However, it is also true that there are circumstances and places where he has the advantage. Take, for example one of the smaller towns where there is a Middle School. In such a place the Japanese evangelist will often receive the cold shoulder, while an American missionary is welcomed with open arms. The reason is because students and teachers of such a school hope to secure his assistance in mastering the intricacies of the English tongue. If he is willing to be accommodating and friendly, the way is open to acquaintance and influence such as a Japanese evangelist does not enjoy in the same community. To many ardent spirits among the students such an American resident in the town is a prize, and they are ready eagerly to absorb from him all they can of the great outside world from which he has come and of which they have heard so much. This feeling no longer obtains so greatly in the largest cities, but in many small places it is yet possible for the missionary to become to a select circle their interpreter of Western ideas, civilization, and religion, in much

the same way as the earliest missionaries were to the men now at the head of the nation. No one can begin to measure the extent of the influence that may be thus exerted. It has long been my dream that there might be a missionary family in every town where there is a Middle School.

Whatever the difficulties to be overcome, the first duty of the missionary is to approve himself as a faithful and capable individual worker. It is sometimes said that the great work of the missionary is not to do the work himself but to train natives to do it, and certainly this contains a great truth, but how in the world is he to train others to do a work that he has never done himself? And how can he expect men to seek training at his hands for work in which he has never shown himself active and skillful? Whatever, therefore, be his hopes for the future, the first thing for the missionary to do is to show himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, in his personal and individual activity. Whatever may be the case in other countries, in Japan he will command no respect, even within the Christian circle, simply because he is a missionary. If he is to be respected he must show himself worthy of respect as a man of real spiritual leadership. If he can do that, he will not fail to receive the homage which character and ability always exact from men.

The missionary, however, is not merely an individual, he is the official representative of the American church. He is not only her first and best gift to Japan, but also the agent through whom she mediates all her

other gifts. He is the chief channel through which the spiritual need of the perishing millions is made known to the Occident and is the chief channel through which the reply of the Occident to that cry of need flows out to the Orient. Therefore the missionary is and ought always to remain in charge of the work which the American churches do to evangelize Japan. He ought to be the responsible and authoritative agent for the disbursement of American funds and for the management of the work done by means of them.

This is not to say that it may not sometimes be wise and right for American Christians to give a grant in aid for this or that purpose to the Japanese church directly. In exceptional circumstances that may be the best thing to do, but this does not destroy the validity of the rule that the American church, engaged in evangelizing the unreached districts and classes of Japan, ought to place the funds she has for that purpose in the hands of men known to her churches, pledged to her principles, selected by her officers, and subject to her jurisdiction. That is business, that is common sense. That conserves the independence of the Japanese church no less than the independent right and duty of the American churches in their missionary work. It is also the only way in which, in the long run, the interest and support of the congregations in this country can be retained. Not long ago, in Sioux County, Iowa, in a meeting of pastors, elders, and deacons numbering sixty men, I was asked the question: "We are informed that now our missionaries are being set aside, as inferior to the Japanese ministers. Is

that true?" I explained that missionaries had no position within the church, but that the missionary work as such was entirely in their charge, and the inquirer was satisfied. Would he have been satisfied with any other answer? I think not.

What use does the missionary make of the funds placed in his hands by the home church? He uses them chiefly to associate with himself a number of Japanese workers, and together with them to plant the seed from which presently self-supporting local churches are to spring. It is now a well established principle in missions that the laborers from foreign lands can never hope to do the work alone, or even to do the principal share of it. They speak the language imperfectly, at best; their manner of life and habits of thought are strange to the people; they do not understand the national prejudices and difficulties as natives do; they can not gain access to the homes so easily, and in numberless other ways they are distinctly and hopelessly inferior to those "to the manner born." Moreover, the expense involved in the maintenance of a foreigner is several times as great as that of a native, so that it is out of the question to accomplish the evangelization of any country of considerable size by means of missionaries only. That may do in a small island in the Pacific, but not elsewhere, least of all in Japan. I need not take your time to prove what no one disputes.

Comparisons between the efficiency of foreigners and native preachers, however, must not fail to recognize, what is often forgotten, that the most talented Japanese preachers are not available for missionary

service. It is often said that the Japanese ministers associated with the missionaries are men of inferior ability, and, barring notable exceptions, the charge is true. Not only is it true, but a little reflection will show that it can not be otherwise. Suppose the case of ten men graduating from a theological seminary in Japan. Most, if not all of them will be found to have been sent to school and maintained by the missionaries. They go back to the provinces and labor with them and under their direction. Within a few years they will be found to have separated into three classes. Some will be found quite unfit for the work and will have been dismissed. Others will have distinguished themselves by the possession of unusual mental and spiritual talents. What becomes of these? They will have been called to the pastorates of self-supporting churches, or to editorial and educational work. In all of these cases they pass from the circumference to the center of church life. They become the leaders on the floor of Synod. Their services are demanded by the church for the development of her work "ad intra", and so they are not available for the "ad extra" work.

The mediocre men, excellent, earnest, and competent workers, but without the highest talents, will be left to the mission. These are the men with whom the evangelistic missionary eats, sleeps, travels, plans and prays. They are his closest associates; happy and successful is the missionary who can also win them to be his most sincere and intimate friends. In order to do this, he must give them gladly his own spiritual fellowship, love, sympathy and assistance. He must stand

so emphatically for personal holiness, spiritual power and triumphant faith that it will be an inspiration to the Japanese to come into contact with him. It ought to become a matter of experience with the Japanese evangelist that he seldom comes away from a long visit with his foreign brother (and very few Japanese calls are short!) without having some text become more precious to him or seeing some truth and duty in a new light. A missionary in Japan will do well to invite the evangelists frequently to his table, to take long walks with them, and to open his heart to them with frankness and confidence. All this must be permeated with genuine spirituality. There is no more important work than this for the missionary, and nothing more difficult for the natural man, but in view of the abundant riches of the grace of Christ and the promise of the Holy Spirit, no department in which failure is more akin to sin. From such conferences the Japanese is not the only gainer. The missionary himself will be refreshed and delighted with the ideas that come to him from the inner experiences of a life so different from his own. But a Japanese is naturally very reserved. He will not unlock his thoughts and grant confidence except in return for confidence. The young missionary must therefore not expect too much at first. Least of all must he assume the attitude of a formal teacher. This becomes possible to some men of exceptional power and tact after they have gained the hearty friendship and respect of their brethren in the way I have described, but not even then to all.

This spiritual relation between the missionary and

the evangelist ought quite to overshadow the relation of superintendence in which the former stands to the latter. Yet there is such a relation. The missionaries in their assemblies decide who is to be employed and who is to be rejected or discharged, fix salaries and assign places of labor. The individual missionary as he goes about the country takes note of the efficiency of the evangelist, and his recommendations are likely to be followed by his mission. In a sense, then, the evangelist is certainly under the supervision of the missionary. Call it what we will, disguise it as we may, such remains the fact. This superintendence should be always exercised on the part of the missionary with the utmost tact and consideration, but if a Japanese preacher finds it intolerable to be associated on such terms with the representatives of the American churches, he should not be willing either to receive his support from their gifts. Happily, such a man has now increasing opportunity to find work elsewhere.

In association with such Japanese preachers as are content to work with him, the missionary plans for the accomplishment of the task that is assigned him by his mission, usually with the sad consciousness that the resources at his disposal are not even distantly adequate to the work, but inspired at the same time by the challenge which the very greatness of that task offers to his powers.

The methods by which we operate are for the most part the old and simple ones of public speech and private conversation with all who can be induced to hear. Usually the Japanese ministers take up their residence

in the principal towns of the district and maintain regular Sunday services, even though at first, there is hardly a single person who is willing to attend except the members of their own families. By forming the acquaintance of people in the neighborhood this number slowly increases, but generally it takes a number of years before as many as fifteen or twenty persons regularly assemble. The preacher does not confine himself to the place of his residence, but generally seeks to obtain a foothold in two or three of the neighboring villages, and if successful holds meetings there once or twice a month.

As often as possible the missionary, who is located in the chief city, visits the various towns where the preachers reside, and such a visit is commonly made the occasion for more public meetings, at the hotel or in a public hall, at which a larger crowd than usual gathers, partly from mere curiosity, partly from genuine interest. Tract distribution, Sunday school work, and house to house visitation are constant features. After the public meetings, an invitation is given to any who desire to remain and get acquainted with the missionary, and it is no uncommon thing to have these conversations extend far into the night. Magic lantern meetings are also a successful feature of the work of some missionaries.

Such work as this, with Bible classes in English and in Japanese at the town of his permanent residence, forms the greater part of the work of a missionary, and takes up most of his time. It is laborious and obscure work, fit only for men who do not shrink from

labor and who dare to be obscure, looking and longing not to be known and praised of men but to be approved of God.

It is, in one sense, not a highly successful work. For many years the results have been but meagre. Yet it is the only way in which a beginning can be made. Of all forms of Christian work it is the only one that is positively indispensable, the one that precedes and underlies every other sort of activity. There are forms of Christian work that are very much more in the public eye. The work of the Y. M. C. A. and of the Salvation Army, although lying at opposite extremes from each other in character and methods, may serve as examples. Many people look upon the Y. M. C. A. as one of the most successful forms of work. It is far easier to raise large sums of money for it than for the regular evangelistic work. On the other hand, the Salvation Army is to many persons the ideal of pure evangelism. Yet it is a fact that neither the Y. M. C. A. nor the Salvation Army ever establish themselves in a place where there is not already a considerable Christian community. They would not know how to begin in such a place. It is impossible for them to do anything before the obscure, plodding work of the pioneer evangelistic missionary and his associates has prepared the way.

So difficult is this work, so large the investment of patience, talent, and capital required to make a beginning that the Board of Missions of the Church of Christ in Japan, although operating in its own country, and therefore in the most favorable position to under-

take it, has very rarely ventured to open work in a new district. Dr. Imbrie, in his little book, "The Church of Christ in Japan" states the case correctly: "To a considerable extent the policy of the Board has been to select congregations of more or less promise and bring them to self-support. In this work it has certain advantages over a mission." (Church of Christ in Japan, p. 111). That is an intelligible policy and one to be commended. I quote it here, not to criticize it, but to illustrate the point that even the Board of Missions of the Church of Christ in Japan shrinks from the years of plodding work and meagre success which nevertheless are the indispensable conditions of planting the church in the villages and towns of Japan.

Obscure and difficult as the work is, it has a keen attraction to the man who can see beyond the obscurity and difficulty of it the largeness of the problems it presents for solution. For instance, upon my return to Japan next fall I shall most probably be assigned to the district called Oita Ken, which is a territory about as large as three counties in our own state, with a population of nine hundred thousand. The Christian forces will probably be represented by one other missionary, a Methodist, and ten or twelve Japanese preachers. These are also charged with the care of three hundred scattered believers of three denominations. The problem before me will be, therefore, in company with the other workers, "How can we reach the people of this district in the most rapid and efficient way with the message of the cross, so that they shall not only hear it but love it and shall establish the

beginnings of the Christian church?" Can you imagine a problem more attractive? Can you find in the United States a field like this? I have had the honor to lay before our Board the prospectus of a new method to reach the people through the advertising columns of the newspapers. The Board has approved it and I hope to put it into practice upon returning to Japan. If successful, it will help materially in the solution of our problem. There remain yet many subsidiary problems of how to approach the people, how to speak in the language best understood by them, how to overcome local prejudices, and how to reach the poorest and most ignorant as well as the highest. To study problems like these is worthy of the greatest powers; to have a share in solving them is the best reward.

I have endeavored to give you a glimpse into the conditions of present day evangelistic work in Japan. I have not hid from you, my brethren the anxieties, the difficulties, the unappreciated obscurity and toil of a missionary's life, and I have done it purposely. If you are men to be daunted by things like these, by all means stay at home. For myself, I would rather be a missionary in the loneliest village of Japan than to be in the most prominent pulpit of America, for with twenty years of missionary service behind me, and facing, please God, as many more, I am glad that I can say with the Apostle Paul; "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given that I should preach among the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ."

CHAPTER VI.

The Educational Work, Essential to the Permanence of Results.

The knowledge of God and the study of his works ought to go hand in hand. Neither can be well understood without the other. Originally, in the time of man's innocency, they did go together, but they were separated by the fall, for the children of Seth preserved the knowledge of the true religion, while the family of Cain distinguished themselves in the sciences. From that time on they developed along separate lines. In Judah was God known, His name was great in Israel, but among the gentile flourished culture, art, science, and philosophy.

This unnatural separation came to an end in the fulness of time, when the Christ appeared. He broke down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, and thus also between Religion and Science. Henceforth Science was to find her most brilliant development in the schools of the church, while the weapons she forged were to be used by Religion in the conquest of the world.

Two attempts have been made by Satan to rebuild the barrier that Christ destroyed; the first when the church returned to the legalism of the Old Dispensation in the Roman Catholic perversion of the Middle Ages, when learning was well nigh buried under a mass of bigotry, and the church vainly fancied she

could have Religion without Science. This ended with the Reformation. We are now living in the midst of the second attempt, which seeks by a complete secularization of education to bring about a return to the old heathen condition of Science without Religion. Against all such attempts it is the privilege of the church to maintain an uncompromising and victorious warfare.

Nowhere would a defense of Christian education seem more superfluous than upon this platform. This audience, this community, this nation, are its fruit and its justification. That such a defense should still occasionally be necessary upon the mission field is because some ardent workers persist in comparing its immediate efficiency with that of evangelization, not understanding that their spheres, though different, are mutually complimentary.

Evangelization has to do with the present generation, education with the next. Evangelization gathers men into churches, while education secures the permanence of the institutions that evangelization calls into existence. Education forges the weapons of offense and defense that evangelization wields against heathenism and scepticism. It teaches men to decipher the truth contained in the hieroglyphics of nature; it brings to light the record hid under the scrawled and blotted palimpsest of history, and from both of these sources illustrates and confirms the message of revelation. That message itself, given at sundry times and in divers manners, can not be fully understood unless the times and manners be traced by reverent scholarship. In spite of all opposition, therefore, Christian education

has won and firmly holds for itself a place among the great missionary agencies in every land.

These general principles are of universal application. The development of the work in each country, however, is subject to the influences arising out of social conditions. For example, Christian schools of primary grade, which are so great a feature of mission work in India and China, have never been established, to any considerable extent, in Japan. There are, to be sure, numerous kindergartens, but these serve rather as a method of approach in evangelistic work than as a part of a Christian educational system.

The limits of time and accessible information oblige me to omit all discussion of theological seminaries, which follow the same general lines as such institutions do in America; and of female education, which is a subject by itself. Our discussion is thus narrowed down to educational work for young men, and we propose to glance briefly at the Development, Results, and Prospects of this work.

In Japan the place of Christian education has been peculiarly important, for it has served the purpose usually accomplished by medical work, viz., to act, as an entering wedge, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the public and removing prejudice. As early as the year 1865, only six years after the arrival of missionaries in the country, the following statement of their teaching activity and of its usefulness as a missionary agency was made by the missionaries in an address to the Christian people in America and England.

"The first decisive symptom of the abatement of suspicions on the part of the government was the sending of about a dozen young men of rank from Yedo (i. e. Tokyo) to Kanagawa, to be taught English by one of the missionaries. More recently the governors of Nagasaki and this place (Yokohama) authorized schools to be opened for a similar purpose under their auspices, and the Protestant missionaries were invited to take charge of them. One missionary at Nagasaki has, during the past year, devoted three or four hours a day to the school there. The school at Yokohama has over fifty members, and for more than two years past three and sometimes four of the missionaries have been engaged in it, teaching an hour or two each day. A large supply of American school books has been imported by the governor for this school, and the teachers have in no wise been restricted as to the matter or manner of their teaching. Through the use of these foreign school books more or less of Christian truth is almost daily brought into contact with the minds of the pupils, and has been freely made the subject of explanation and remark in classes. The effect of this is manifest in the unhesitating manner in which the pupils make inquiries and seek information on religious subjects, and in the frequent expression given to religious facts and doctrines in their school exercises. Four years ago, when copies of a book entitled 'The Christian Reader' were bought of a missionary by some young men who were desirous to learn English, they at once erased the word 'Christian' from the title page and cover, for fear it would be noticed by others and bring them into trouble. Now a considerable number of those who have been under instruction have purchased Bibles for their own use. In the school rooms and in our houses there is no reluctance to speak, and many do speak, from day to day, of God, of Christ, and of Christianity. The name of Jesus is no longer uttered with bated breath." (Minutes of Osaka Conference, page 47).

Being a strictly contemporary statement, this quota-

tion shows clearly how very valuable this teaching was as a missionary agency, even though carried on in the schools of a government that was at that very time sternly threatening with death any one who ventured to profess the Christian religion. That Christianity should have been discussed with impunity in the institutions of such a government is comparable to the situation of the infant Moses, nourished in the palace of the Pharaoh who had decreed the destruction of the Hebrew children.

The missionaries were not in a position to establish their own schools until the second decade of their work, when such schools were founded in two centers. The first was the Yokohama-Tokyo district, where it was undertaken by the Presbyterian and Reformed missionaries, among whom were Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn, and Dr. S. R. Brown. The institution thus founded has developed into the Meiji Gakuin. The second school was in Kyoto, where the Congregational missionaries Drs. Greene and Davis made a beginning in 1873. With this school was later combined the work of Mr. Joseph Neeshima, a great name in the history of Japanese Christianity, and from this resulted the Doshisha, the most famous of the Christian schools of Japan. Other schools were established later, as the various denominations opened work in Japan.

Up to the year 1890 this educational work enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity. Mission schools sprang up on every hand, and it was only necessary to announce the time and place where students could apply for entrance, to secure an abundance of pupils. The op-

portunity to learn English and to enjoy personal intercourse with foreigners was the tempting prize that brought scores of young men to the missionaries for instruction, a tendency that was accentuated by the insufficiency of the government schools, both in number and in quality.

During the decade 1890 to 1900, the mission schools suffered first a marked decline, and then a considerable recovery. The decline was due to the great anti-foreign and anti-Christian reaction, already several times referred to in these lectures, to the growing improvement of the government schools, and to the difference in policy that developed between them and the mission schools. The managers of mission schools were aiming to produce thinkers and students, and with that object in view were laying great emphasis on the study of the English language, so that a graduate from their courses might be able to read the literature of the world with interest and understanding. Necessarily, many departments of knowledge were slighted or omitted in the course itself. The government schools, on the contrary, having a practical aim, judged it better to reach the student a little of almost every branch. It is the old question whether one should teach "multum" or "multa," a problem not by any means settled in our own educational circles.

Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the two educational ideals, however, it gradually became clear that the students in government schools had overwhelmingly the advantage from a practical standpoint. They were exempt from military conscription, which

took away many mission school students in the midst of their studies. They were more readily employed in the civil service, and if they wished to continue their studies after graduation, they not only did so in schools whose curricula were correlated to their own, but into which no one was admitted who did not hold a certificate of graduation from a government school. In theory, to be sure, graduates of lower government schools were entitled to enter the higher institutions without examination, and also any one else who was competent to enter could do so upon passing the necessary tests. It soon came to pass, however, that the number of applicants bringing certificates of graduation from lower public schools exceeded the possible accommodation of the higher colleges, so that even those theoretically entitled to enter without examination could not do so, but had to submit to competitive tests, by which the best of them were chosen. Naturally, when even the graduates of government schools were not all able to find accommodations, there was no chance for others. Under these circumstances, mission schools found themselves obliged to conform their curricula to that of the government, and to obtain licenses as part of the public school system. Upon doing so they obtained the official name and standing of "Chu Gakko," or Middle Schools, with all the attendant rights and privileges. This they could do without in any way abridging their religious instruction or denying their Christian character.

The results of this change were at once seen in returning prosperity, and the Christian schools were con-

gratulating themselves upon their improved prospects when a serious difficulty appeared in the shape of an Instruction, issued by the Minister of Education, August 3d, 1899, which reads as follows:

> It being essential from the standpoint of educational administration that general education should be independent of religion, religious instruction must not be given, or religious ceremonies performed, at government schools, public schools, or schools whose curricula are regulated by provisions of law, even outside the regular course of instruction.

Missions schools that had accepted the name and standing of Middle Schools were included in the scope of this order. They were not "government" or "public" schools, but they were "schools whose curricula are regulated by provisions of law." Indeed, there is good reason to think that they were the institutions against which the Instruction was especially aimed, inasmuch as the practices forbidden in it had never been carried on in the other schools.

With two exceptions all the mission schools that held licenses from the government immediately surrendered the same. Then began a long series of negotiations with the Department of Education, which finally resulted in a curious solution of the difficulty. The Instruction was not modified, but new regulations were issued by which the government recognized not only the kinds of schools enumerated in the Instruction, but also "schools equal or superior to Middle Schools," and granted to such institutions almost all the privileges of the Middle Schools; only, they were

not allowed to call themselves by that name. Since they were not under the Instruction, they retained perfect religious freedom. At the present time there are twelve mission schools in Japan, of which three are Middle Schools, and, therefore, bound by the Instruction. The others have nearly, if not quite, all obtained recognition as "schools equal or superior to Middle Schools."

Most of these institutions have Japanese principals. I think that the only exceptions are the Tohoku Gakuin, at Sendai, a school of the German Reformed Church, and Steele Academy, at Nagasaki, of the Reformed Church in America. Their affairs are sometimes directly administered by the missions, but more commonly by a Board of Directors, composed partly or wholly of Japanese. This raises an interesting question. In discussing the evangelistic work I insisted that work done by means of funds collected in America should be under the control of the missionaries. Does this apply also to educational work? My reply is, No, not altogether. Let us apply again our fundamental distinction between the work of the church "ad extra" and "ad intra." To which department does educational work belong? Manifestly, to the work "ad intra," for even in an ideal condition of the church, with all heathenism and scepticism overcome, there would still be need of Christian instruction. The educational work is, therefore, a permanent feature of the church's life, the evangelistic work among the heathen is temporary. The work we do in the field of Christian education must presently be done by the

church for herself, and will never be laid aside. Our evangelistic task, on the contrary, must some day be finished, and will then cease. Hence there is something to be "turned over" to the native church in the educational department, but nothing in the evangelistic. The native church must continue our work in the one department, but not in the other. It is true that the evangelistic work produces permanent institutions as well as the educational, but the permanent church life which results from our evangelism among the heathen does a work differing in kind from that which we do, while the educational work remains the same, whoever does it. The local churches resulting from evangelization become self-supporting, and hence no transfer of mission funds needs to accompany their entrance as full churches into the denominational family. So to speak, they need no dower. Educational institutions, on the other hand, are never self-supporting, and hence, if transferred to the Japanese church, it would be appropriate that a certain amount of support, either in the form of endowments or of grants in aid should accompany them.

If we do thus look forward to eventually transferring our educational institutions to the Japanese, it is natural and proper that from time to time, as circumstances seem to indicate, Boards of Directors should be organized, consisting of both Japanese and foreigners, with the expectation that finally the Japanese will be in complete control. Thus the very method which we oppose in evangelistic work is seen to be natural and appropriate in educational work, although here

also any demand of the Church of Christ in Japan, through its General Synod, to share in such control as a matter of inherent right would be stoutly resisted.

The Results of Christian Education.

Let us now ask what we have to show for the work of fifty years in this department. In other words, what are the results of Christian education in Japan, within the limits laid down in this discussion?

We propose to take up this subject under the three heads of statistics, general influence upon the progress of society, and specifically Christian influence.

A careful calculation makes it probable that from twenty to twenty-five thousand young men have received more or less instruction in the Christian schools of Japan. Of this number approximately three thousand are graduates, either of the Middle School course or of a higher course, or of both. The percentage of these graduates engaged in the various callings, so far as could be ascertained in the summer of the year 1909, was as follows:

	Per cent.
In the Ministry or some other Christian Work	3
Teachers	12
Civil Service	5
Business Men, Farmers, etc.	28
Military Service	1
Miscellaneous Callings	2
Still at School in Higher Courses	35
Deceased	7
Unknown	7

These figures refer only to occupations and conditions at the time of investigation. Especially must this be remembered in regard to those in Christian work, for the number of those who have taken a theological course and for one reason or another are not now in the ministry is comparatively large.

Considered merely from a statistical standpoint, these figures are disappointing, both in the total number of graduates sent out and in the proportion giving themselves to religious work. We must guard ourselves, however, here, as elsewhere, against an over-estimate of mere statistics. A more important question is what part the Christian schools, through their students and graduates, have had in the remarkable progress of the Japanese people.

It is a striking fact that there are certain professions in which almost no graduates of Christian schools are found, and therefore certain departments of life upon which they can scarcely be said to have had any influence. These are the military, medical, and legal professions. This is all the more noticeable as the latter two are precisely the professions in which, next to the ministry, the greatest numbers of graduates of Christian schools are found in America. The chief reason for this is that access to the medical and law schools was for so long a time impossible to our graduates, by reason of conditions already described.

A considerable number of graduates are found in the callings classed in Japanese as "jitsugyo," which term includes farming, and the work of an artisan, as well as manufacturing and commerce. Nearly seven

hundred of the graduates are in this class, most of them clerks and other employees in banks and commercial companies. So far as known, not one of them has accumulated a great fortune or holds a command ing position in the business world, but on the whole they are efficiently and faithfully contributing their share to the progress of society. Banking is the business most favored by them, and not a few are managers of banks, presidents of commercial companies, or in other posts of influence.

It is, no doubt, from one point of view, disappointing that so many of our graduates choose secular callings. An earnest missionary would like to see large numbers press into the ministry. And yet, it will not do to take a narrow view of such matters. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. Unquestionably God calls men to the counting house as well as to the pulpit. No country ever needed more than Japan to have its resources developed and its industries reorganized. Such development and reorganization are at the root of all progress, and a Christian school has the same right as any other school to take satisfaction in the fact that its boys are doing their share in this great and vitally important work.

The number of those who have gone into official and political life is smaller, being 117, but the proportion who have risen to eminence in this field is greater, and their influence upon the country has been more direct. Most of them hold positions of greater or less importance in city and provincial offices, in the postal and customs services, or in similar lines of work, but

among them are found also members of the upper and lower houses of Parliament, a mayor of Yokohama, the governor of Gifu Ken, the postmaster of Nagasaki, and holders of numerous offices in the diplomatic service, from that of Minister downwards.

It is, however, in the world of ideas rather than in business or official life that the graduates and former pupils of mission schools have especially distinguished themselves. Even when such graduates are not Christians, it is easy to see that this impulse to consider ideas as more important than dollars is the legitimate fruit of Christian education. Nor is this by any means an inferior contribution to social and national progress. Fundamentally, the difference between Old Japan and New Japan is a difference in the prevailing ideas. The natural resources are the same, the character of the people, also, cannot have undergone a magical change. The energy, docility, and loyalty which so largely account for their recent progress were all there before. Japan under the old regime was comparable to one of those valleys in the Rocky Mountains, where conditions of soil, temperature and sunshine are well nigh perfect, but which are comparatively barren for lack of water. Let an aqueduct be built, and the richest crops reward the labor of the husbandman. As the water flowing through the aqueduct in such a valley transforms a scene of barrenness and desolation into one of fertility and beauty, so the new ideas which were introduced into Japan during the first part of the last half century, ideas of liberty, equality and popular rights, ideas of the value of the individual, of the dig-

nity of woman, of the purity of the family life, etc., have transformed that empire from the comparative barrenness of the Tokugawa era into the wonder of the world.

If the new ideas thus introduced may fitly be compared to the life-giving water, what is the aqueduct? It is that which contains and conveys the ideas, in other words, the foreign language, in this case, the English language. It follows from this that no one is a greater benefactor to society than he who builds this intellectual aqueduct. Viewed from this standpoint, the mission schools take their places among the most beneficent agencies that have contributed to the creation of new Japan. From the educational work done in the government schools by Dr. Verbeck, Dr. Brown and others, down to the present time, the teaching of English by the missionaries, both in and out of the regular school organizations, has brought in a flood of new ideas, so that the sign "Importers of New Ideas," might appropriately be hung over the gate of every mission school. At present there is hardly a Middle school that has not one or more of our graduates among its pupils, so that it may be doubted whether the government schools could maintain this most important part of their curriculum without the aid given them by the mission schools. There is not a mission school but has sent a number of its graduates into the teaching profession, and they are found in the higher colleges and even among the professors in the Imperial universities.

The importation of new ideas is carried on also by

newspapers and magazines, and here the influence of mission school graduates is very prominent. Indeed, they may be said to have started magazine literature in Japan, for the pioneers in this line were Mr. Tokutomi, with his "Kokumin no Tomo;" Mr. Uemura, with the "Nihon Hyoron," and Messrs. Shimasaki, Togawa and Hirata, with the "Bungakkwai." All these received their education in mission schools.

Neither is this interest in journalism a matter that has decreased of recent years. Down to the present, many of the graduates of Christian schools go into journalism, and many of the most influential periodicals employ them. The following is a hastily constructed and imperfect list of journals having graduates of Christian schools as editors-in-chief or as members of their staffs. The Mainichi Shimbun, Kokumin Shimbun, Hochi Shimbun, Osaka Asahi Shimbun, Nagoya Fuso Shimbun, Kagoshima Nichi Nichi Shimbun, Chinzei Nippo, Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, Yorozu Choho, Kahoku Shimpo, Sendai Nichi Nichi Shimbun, Jitsugyo no Nihon, Eibun Shinshi, Boken Sekai, Bunko, Waseda Daigaku Shippan Bu, Chuo Koron, Taiyo, Jinsen Chosen Shimpo, Moji Shimpo.

When we consider what graduates of Christian schools have done in the field of authorship, we meet with an astonishing record, which space allows us merely to touch upon by pointing to Shimasaki Toson, the poet; Matsumura Kaiseki, the lecturer and historian; the late Dr. Onishi, eminent as an author on topics connected with education and psychology, and Tokutomi Kenjiro, the novelist. These men and others

like them have led the way in creating a new literature for Japan, a literature that is fast familiarizing the whole nation with the best ideals of the West, and the influence of which upon the national thought and character is simply beyond all calculation.

The directly Christian influence of mission schools is of three kinds, general influence upon society in removing prejudice and scattering information in regard to our religion; the influence exerted upon the individual student, in moulding his character and leading him to a saving faith; and the influence of the graduates upon the establishment of the kingdom of God in all of its forms. The first of these three kinds of influence is in its very nature incapable of clear demonstration and exact measurement, but there is no question that it exists and that it is a powerful factor in producing a more favorable public opinion. The very fact that the missionaries establish schools prevents the idea that the Christian religion is afraid of knowledge, or is fit only for ignorant people. Students who attend these schools, even for a brief period cannot entertain the unreasonable prejudices which still are so prevalent among the common people. Teachers who give instruction in them for a time and later become teachers in the public schools frequently have occasion to defend missionaries and the Christian religion from the unreasonable suspicions and attacks of their colleagues who have never in any way come into contact with Christian men or institutions, and they do so, even when not themselves gained for the faith. Parents and relatives of the students may not in large

numbers become believers, but they are generally to be reckoned among the favorably disposed. In regard to this entire subject of general influence, the late Dr. M. N. Wyckoff, one of the most experienced missionary teachers in Japan, says:

"I have no means of estimating the amount of influence which our schools exert in disseminating Christian truth, but I am certain that it is large. That the schools have been a powerful means of getting a hearing for the gospel admits of no doubt. This was more remarkable in the early days, for then the schools and English classes were almost the only way of getting a hearing, but now also our schools have great influence in preparing the way for the entrance of the truth. I cannot prove it, but I believe that the changed and friendly attitude of government schools towards Christianity is due more to the influence of Christian teachers who have been pupils in mission schools than to any other cause."

As to conversions, the few schools which have ventured to submit statistics point to a very good record. The Doshisha claims 2,000 baptisms among 6,000 students who entered the institution. The Tohoku Gakuin reports 240, Momoyama Chu Gakko 104, Kwansei Gakuin 150 and Chinzei Gakuin 700. These are necessarily estimates rather than exact returns.

One would take greater satisfaction in these figures were there not such widespread and apparently such well-founded criticism of many of these converts after they leave school. Extensive inquiry among pastors and Christian workers has brought to light, indeed, numerous instances where such graduates are pillars in the church, an inspiration to the pastor and an example to the believers; but on the whole the pas-

tors are not able to make such reports. On the contrary, they complain of the fact that many graduates take no interest in the church or its work, that they are very worldly in their manner of life, that not a few are a scandal even to unbelievers, and that some seem immune to any Christian influence, not only in spite of the fact that they have been educated in Christian institutions, but even on account of it, as if they had once for all had enough of the matter.

However, here, as elsewhere, it is of the highest importance to distinguish the characteristic and significant phenomena from those of a general nature. The causes that make men irreligious, immoral and selfish are obvious. They operate within as well as without the circle of those touched by Christian education. That many of the graduates of Christian schools should be men of very common clay is neither surprising nor especially significant. It is otherwise when some of them, young men who entered school with the views and ambitions of their fellows, leave it with religious principles that transform their lives. Here is a phenomenon that requires explanation and demands recognition, be the cases many or few. It is not a question of numbers, but of values. Not the likeness to type but the divergence from the type marks an advance. The diamond digger takes no account of the worthless pebbles, but treasures the gems, and counts himself fortunate if now and then a brilliant rewards his efforts.

To trace adequately the influence of Christian education upon the Christian church in Japan would be

to write a history of that church. As Dr. J. F. De Forest writes: "It is safe to say that there never would have been any considerable Christian movement in Japan but for the large Christian schools." The first organization effected was composed almost exclusively of students receiving instruction from the missionaries. In the history of the Congregational, or Kumiai, churches in Japan, a company of students known as "The Kumamoto Band," has a unique place. Hardly had the students of the mission schools in the early years completed the few years of preparation when they stood forth as the leaders of the Christian church, and to-day one cannot mention the names of the men who are most honored and influential in the great denominations without calling the roll of graduates of mission schools.

Especially were the first fifteen years of organized Christian education, from 1872 to 1887, extraordinarily fruitful in men who combined conspicuous ability and earnest faith. That the first few years should have produced men like Messrs. Uemura, Ibuka, Tamura, Ebina, Miyagawa, Honda, Motoda and numerous others, is from every point of view remarkable. The time has not yet come for fully estimating their services, but at least this may be said, that, as at the time of the Reformation, God gave a galaxy of great men to the church, so He enriched the early church in Japan with a group of men of unusual power.

The later years have not been quite so fruitful. As the seven years of plenty were followed in Egypt by seven years of famine, so a period of about fifteen

comparatively lean years in Christian education succeeded that wonderful first period. Constantly, however, men have been coming forward, and especially among the younger men there are many of great promise. It is to be regretted that so few of our graduates have entered the ministry, so that of the ministers and evangelists now at work only ten per cent have enjoyed the full preparation which our schools offer, but the men who compose this ten per cent are found largely in the influential churches, and in the various forms of activity which represent and interpret Christianity to the world.

The Christian press is one of these agencies. Next to the pulpit nothing is more indispensable to the Christian church. Investigation shows that without the graduates of Christian schools there simply could not be any Christian press. All the editors-in-chief are from such institutions, being almost without exception graduates from both lower and higher courses. Most of the assistant editors and contributors, also, received their education at the same schools. The "Shinjin" is the only prominent Christian magazine that has a large majority of writers from other schools, and even here the two chief men are from mission schools.

The same is true of the Y. M. C. A. movement. This organization has sought and found a number of excellent men from government schools, but beginning with Mr. Niwa, a Doshisha man, who has been so long and so intimately connected with building up that movement, down to the present time, a large propor-

tion of the workers have been from mission schools. During the Russo-Japanese war, when the Y. M. C. A. tent work attracted the favorable comment of the whole world, it was found that out of twenty-two Japanese secretaries, at least fifteen were from mission schools.

Perhaps one would hardly look for the influence of Christian education in the Salvation Army, but who can doubt that whatever success the Army has enjoyed in Japan has, under God, been largely due to the personality and enthusiasm of Mr. Yamamuro, the editor of the "Toki no Koe?" Mr. Yamamuro is from the Doshisha, and writes that several of the most efficient workers now in the army have come from the Christian schools.

How is it with hymnology? One of the most striking and far-reaching facts in recent mission history is that during the last five or six years over two hundred thousand copies of the union hymn book have been sold. The Japanese work on that hymnal was largely the work of two men, one of whom was from Aoyama, while the other was from the Doshisha.

Organized only a year or two ago, one of the most vigorous branches of Christian work is the Sunday School movement. The three Japanese leaders most conspicuous in that work to-day are respectively from the Aoyama Gakuin, Meiji Gakuin and Kwanzei Gakuin.

It is the same story over again when we ask who are the leading spirits in the great temperance movement, for both Mr. Ando Taro and Mr. Nemoto Sho were

students under missionary influence, the former before the formal school organization took place, studying under Dr. Brown, and the latter in the first stages of the Meiji Gakuin.

To sum up what has been said, the results of Christian education are disappointing in the following particulars: in the fewness of graduates, considering the number and equipment of the schools and the length of time they have been at work; in the failure to influence to a deep religious conviction such a large portion of the students; in the unsatisfactory character of so many who profess conversion, and in the fewness of candidates for the ministry.

On the other hand, the services of Christian schools to society at large and to the Christian church have been abundant and valuable. Their graduates have contributed largely to the material, intellectual and moral development of the nation, as business men, officials, teachers and editors. Their influence has inspired the new literature of Japan, has vitalized its civilization with spiritual ideas, and has been prevailingly on the side of righteousness and purity in national, family and private life. Christian education has given birth to the Christian church, has supplied it with leaders, literature and hymnology and has made possible well-nigh every form of its manifold activities. As the strata of rock beneath the fertile fields, although themselves invisible and forgotten, yet underlie and sustain the soil, so Christian education underlies and sustains Christian civilization and the Christian church.

Problems of Christian Education.

Although the existing Christian schools are thus seen to have been very influential in the past, it is a serious question whether they are in a position to be equally influential in the future. The schools of Academy, or Middle School, grade need not give us much concern. They require, to be sure, considerable improvement in equipment and teaching force to hold their own in competition with the government schools, but this will no doubt be furnished by the various boards. A much greater problem is how to make Christian education a potent factor in the advancing intellectual life of the nation by introducing it into the sphere of college and university training, from which it is now practically excluded.

The cause of this phenomenon is a striking difference that exists between education in Japan and in America. An American college offers the student no professional training, but prepares him to obtain such training later. He has, therefore, no need to select his profession until his outlook upon life has been broadened and his insight into its meaning has been deepened by general culture. In the meantime, Christian forces are brought to bear upon his mind and heart which not infrequently lead to his conversion, with a resultant consecration to a very different course of life from the one he would have chosen had he been obliged to cast the die several years earlier. Whatever his choice, he may enter upon his professional studies wherever he likes, for with his college diploma in his

hands, the doors of every technical institute in the country are open to him.

In Japan, on the contrary, specialization begins very early, so early that the choice of a profession is practically forced upon the graduate of a Middle School, immature and uncultured as he of necessity is. To be sure, if he is one of the favored few who gain admittance to one of the government colleges, he does not actually begin his professional studies until three years later, in the university, but even in these colleges the division into classes is based upon the course to be pursued in the university, and the curriculum varies accordingly.

Hence there is really no place in the education of Japan for the counterpart of the American college course, where the humanities are supreme, and the question of bread and butter is temporarily out of sight. We need not stop to point out how great a loss Japan suffers by this elimination of the college course, how unfavorable such a condition is to the cultivation of the spiritual aspirations, or how directly it tends to the predominance in her social order of a narrow vision and a materialistic attitude. We desire especially to call attention to the fact that by this circumstance Christian education is excluded from the very domain where she most longs to assert herself, a domain peculiarly her own in other hands. The great sciences which interpret human life and destiny, viz.: history, logic, literature, sociology, psychology, philosopy, etc., are too advanced to be taught in the Middle School. They belong in the college course. To be

satisfied with Christian secondary education is to give up all hope of substituting for the rationalistic view of these sciences prevalent in Japan one more in harmony with the principles of our religion. To acquiesce in this is impossible. Hence the irresistible impulse to establish Christian colleges or their equivalent.

So much is clear, and in obedience to this impulse a number of "Higher Departments," or "Colleges," have been established, in which a high-class curriculum of three years or more promises an intellectual feast. But alas! if the truth must be told, they are for the most part failures. As a rule, two or three tens of students, either candidates for the ministry or otherwise supported by scholarships, are the only guests at the banquet. What is the reason? Simply that the course leads nowhere except to the theological seminaries. The Imperial Universities are the only institutions in the country that demand for entrance an education of this grade, and they are practically open only to graduates of the government colleges. All other professional schools are organized on the basis of the Middle School as the source of supply. The three years spent in the "college department" of a mission school would, therefore, be of no advantage to a young man in preparing for a professional career. At best they would appear to him and his friends as lost time. This fact fully accounts for the failure of such departments to attract students. The conclusion of the whole matter and the lesson of two decades of failure is this: *A college course that does not open the way to a professional career cannot succeed.*

If this is true, it is clear that Christian higher education must remain in its present state, as a preparatory department to the divinity school only, or Christion professional courses of higher grade must in some way be provided. To some extent this has already been done by the Aoyama Gakuin, the Methodist school in Tokyo, which some years ago obtained a charter by virtue of which graduates from its collegiate department were entitled without further examination to receive certificates as licensed teachers of English in schools of middle grade. Since that time they have had plenty of students. More recently the Rikkyo Dai Gakko, a school of the American Episcopal church, has introduced a commercial course, and hence reports more than fifty men in the collegiate department. We are thus forced to the conclusion that the Christian educators of Japan must either teach the young men in their "Higher Departments," or "Colleges," something by which they may earn a living or confine themselves to work of academy grade. *A purely literary college course, however excellent, cannot succeed.*

An ideal solution of the difficulty would be to establish one great central Christian university, a school turning out doctors, lawyers, civil engineers and other experts, but requiring the applicant to have already a college education. If this were done, each existing school would speedily grow into a genuine college, and act as a feeder to such a university. This need is keenly felt among Christian educators in Japan, and the matter has repeatedly been under discussion. It

is clear that such an institution should have a union character, for the cost would be immense, and there is not really room in Japan, at present, for two such schools. It is also clear that it should be an endowed institution, for the difficulty of securing adequate and reliable support from the treasuries of the mission boards would be insurmountable.

However, suppose there were such a union university adequately endowed, would there be real union enough among the forces involved to ensure ultimate success? I am afraid not. Much is said in these days about union. In gatherings like the Edinburgh Conference every reference to it is applauded to the echo, and, to be sure, many of the old barriers are being swept away. At least, we have learned to see that some questions important enough to divide us as denominations need not prevent our joining hands in certain lines of work. It would not be difficult for me to co-operate in such a university with Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists and Lutherans, and I think that most missionaries would be able to do so.

However, while certain lines of cleavage in the Christian body are less marked than formerly, other lines are appearing, and these new lines are precisely such as, in my opinion, make united higher Christian education difficult, if not impossible, for they are ultimately based upon the acceptance or rejection of the supernatural, and, therefore, their effect must be seen in every interpretation of the cosmos. Inasmuch as such interpretation is the very heart of higher educa-

tion, two parties differing on this point could never permanently work in harmony in a Christian university. That there are two such parties, both here and in Japan, is too well known to require proof. Bald, á priori denial of the supernatural may be rare among professing Christians, but a constant minimizing of it, a persistent refusal to admit it as a legitimate element in our view of the world and as an acceptable interpretation of the great facts of the Christian history is not only common, but is at the bottom of almost everything that goes by the name of New Theology, advanced thought, "assured results of Higher Criticism," etc.

To my mind no person or institution has any right to the name of "Christian" that does not heartily accept the Apostles' Creed, barring only the obscure and disputed article, "He descended into hell." I should not care a cent for a Christian university in Japan unless all of its directors and every full permanent professor were required to declare his adherence to these articles, and to teach in accordance therewith. This is the least that could be asked. Yet I have no idea that a union Christian university in Japan is possible on such conditions. The articles in regard to the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection of Christ and the Resurrection of the Body would, I believe, form an insurmountable obstacle. They would either be denied outright, or would be interpreted to mean something different from the plain and historic sense. Such is the power of the miserable credophobia that has emasculated our Christianity that even many who heartily ac-

cept the Apostles' Creed themselves would refuse to insist upon such a standard. This is the chief difficulty. It is not that the orthodox party is outnumbered. On the contrary, genuine faith in historic Christianity is the rule among ministers and Christians in Japan as elsewhere, not the exception. If they would join hands and insist upon some formula of concord, they could accomplish it, but for the present the generous enthusiasm for unity has dazzled their eyes. Apparently our churches will have to play with the fire a little longer before they are sufficiently burned to dread it.

If I knew of some way to make a Christian university really Christian and to keep it so, nothing would enlist my ardent and enthusiastic support like the proposal to establish one. As it is, I am less optimistic over the prospects of this branch of our work than of any other. It is a problem that is vital to the future of the church in Japan, but one that is at present, to my mind, insoluble. This does not hinder my looking to God in faith that He has a solution and will show it to us in His own way and at His own time.

CHAPTER VII.

What God Is Doing in the Far East.

Our subject is: What God is doing in the Far East. The words, The Far East, must be understood from the standpoint of Europe rather than from that of America. The East in general is all that portion of the world lying eastward from Europe. In common parlance three sections of it are distinguished, viz.: the Near East, which includes Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt and Arabia; the East, simply, without any qualifying adjective, which means India, Siam and Burmah; and the Far East, including China, Korea and Japan.

The union of these three countries, China, Japan and Korea is more than a geographical accident. They are really united by many and important bonds of language, custom, tradition and religion. They have not a common spoken language, but the literary written language is the same, for the Chinese script is read by the educated men of Korea and Japan as well. Over them all Confucius threw the spell of his great system for centuries, so that they studied the same classic literature and held the same ideas of law, morality and government. Without intercourse with the rest of the world, they were sufficient to themselves, and felt no need to learn more than the ancient sages had taught. The civilization of China was already well established in the days of Moses, while in Korea there are records

of a king who was contemporary with David. When we consider the population that inhabits these lands, we find that it comprises not less than five hundred millions of men, approximately one-fourth of the human race.

We are invited to consider at this time what God is doing in this great section of the world. Our subject includes as one of its chief elements what God is doing through the preaching of the gospel, but it is not limited to that. We gladly confess our faith that God has other tools with which to work, and that his doings include the entire range of Divine Providence, working through Commerce, Diplomacy, Education and War, as well as through the direct missionary work. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. History is but the record of his acts, and the ambitions of kings, the plans of statesmen and the passions of the nations are overruled by Him to the coming of that one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves.

Sixty years ago there were only five ports in China where Europeans were allowed to reside, and these had been opened only a few years before as the result of the first opium war. The entire interior of China was not only closed to the missionary work, but to all travel and residence by foreigners. It was practically an unknown land. Nevertheless, the situation in China was at that time far more favorable than it was in Japan, for it was death to any one but a Hollander to enter that land, and the Dutch were able to bring but one ship each year. They were permitted to reside

only at Nagasaki, where the greatest pains were taken to prevent communication between them and the rest of the country. As for taking advantage of their presence to introduce some knowledge of Christianity, that was quite out of the question, for the religion of Christ was more hated, despised and dreaded by the ruling powers of Japan than any other thing. To the Dutch Envoy, Jonkheer Donker Curtius, the Japanese officials said that they would be willing to allow foreigners all trading privileges if only a way could be found to keep opium and Christianity out of the country.

Public notices were everywhere to be seen denouncing it as a vile religion and strictly forbidding the people to have anything whatever to do with it. Not content with that, it was the custom of the government once a year to call upon the people to stamp and spit upon the cross, confident that in this way any hidden Christians would be at once detected. This condition of affairs had lasted for more than two hundred years, and there was, judging from outward appearances, not the least reason in the world to think that it would soon be overthrown. As for Korea, it was, and long remained, the Hermit Nation, having a limited intercourse with China and Japan, but none at all with the rest of the world.

In the year 1853 the government of the United States sent Commodore Perry with a squadron of warships to insist upon a treaty with Japan, which was accomplished the following year, and opened the way to the settlement of Dr. Verbeck and other missionaries in the country in the year 1859. In the mean-

time the second opium war had opened other ports in China and secured the privilege of traveling in the interior.

All this was by way of preparation, but was not in itself of any great importance. Things remained very much as they were both in Japan and in China until the latter part of the sixties. The Civil War had been fought and finished before there took place the first of that wonderful series of political changes in the Far East which have transformed it to what we see today. This is called the Restoration of 1868, because it consisted of the overthrow of the power of the military chiefs, the Shoguns and the restoration of the Emperor of Japan to his rightful power at the head of the state. This was much more than a mere change of masters: it marked the downfall of the ancient system of seclusion and the opening of Japan to free intercourse with all the nations of the world. It was followed, in 1873, by the removal of the notices against Christianity and the granting of practical religious freedom.

The progress of Japan since that time is a familiar story. It is one of the fairy tales of history. The foundation was laid when, the very year after the Restoration, regulations relating to universities, middle schools and elementary schools were promulgated by imperial decree, thus committing the empire to the great conception of public education. Two years later the Code of Education was promulgated, wherein it was declared that knowledge was to be sought throughout the world, and the high ideal was held up

of a nation in which there should not be a village with an ignorant family or a family with an ignorant member. The development of New Japan is but the natural consequence of such a policy. The most notable political changes which this development included were the granting of the Constitution, in 1889, the adoption of entirely new laws, on the European model, ten years later, and the two great wars, that with China in 1894 and the recent struggle with Russia.

China yielded much more slowly to the impact of the new forces that entered the Far East. Although opened to trade and residence earlier than Japan, there was lacking on the part of both government and people that cordial recognition of the superiority of Western knowledge and that systematized effort to appropriate the best that could be found that are the secrets of the rapid advance of Japan. Consequently new ideas and improvements had to win their way one by one, not as a result of government encouragement, but generally in the teeth of government opposition. Railroads, telegraphs and postal service were, however, slowly introduced during the eighties.

In spite of all her intercourse with the outside world, China maintained up to the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century, her traditional attitude of haughty superiority towards the rest of the world. When I first went to the Far East, in 1891, and for several years thereafter, China was spoken of as almost hopeless, as unwilling to learn and incapable of learning anything. The first great event that made a marked change was the war with Japan in which her

ancient claim to suzereignty over Korea was shattered, some of her greatest fortresses and one of her fairest provinces passed into the hands of others, her navy was annihilated and her pitiable military weakness exposed to all the world. Then followed a period during which the partition of China was openly discussed, and point was lent to the discussion by the presence of Germany in the province of Shantung, by the claim of Great Britain to a sphere of influence in the valley of the Yangtse Kiang, and by the steady advance of Russia in Manchuria.

All this set old China to thinking, a process in which the recently established newspapers gave her no little assistance. The conviction that something was the matter, and that something must be done to save the state, became common among the Chinese people. Out of all these and many more similar causes came the Reform movement of 1898, a critical year in the history of China. Early in January of that year men were startled in Peking by the report that the Emperor had sent to the American Bible and Tract Society for a copy of every book and tract that the depot could supply for his own reading. He did read them, too, with the result that he placed himself at the head of the reform party, and undertook to bring into operation in a short time the most sweeping changes. Six months later he began to issue a series of splendid edicts, about forty in number, which, if they had been carried out, would have revolutionized the life of China. He was not, however, strong enough to carry them out. He came into conflict with the Empress

Dowager and her party, was practically thrown into prison, and his friends were scattered or put to death. Then came the Boxer war, a bitter struggle of the reactionary elements to cast off the growing influences that made for reform. When the foreign armies were triumphantly in possession of the capital and the Empress herself was a fugitive, she had at last learned her lesson. Although she came back to power, she was too wise any longer to oppose all reforms. New edicts were issued, some of them confirming the laws of the emperor. Among the most important of these is the abolition of the ancient system of examinations and the adoption of modern learning as the standard by which the fitness of candidates for office is to be measured. To make this good, a system of public schools upon a modern plan had to be established, and thus China also has entered upon the path which, in the course of thirty or forty years, will accomplish in her the same kind of thing that we have seen in Japan, only upon a far grander scale.

Even now, a Chinese parliament, or the nucleus of one is sitting in Peking, and the chief topic of discussion has been the need of hastening the time when the Constitution, already promised, is to be granted to the people.

In the meantime, what was happening in Korea? That unhappy country did the same on a small scale as China did on a large one, viz.: resisted all impulses to change. If history could have waited until Korea got ready to move, all might have been well. But the hermit had come out of his seclusion too late. Japan,

Russia and China were converging upon each other at that very point, and in the collision the little kingdom was crushed. It has disappeared from the map except as a province of Japan.

It is impossible to describe fully the blessings God has bestowed upon the people of the Far East in these political changes. They mean the substitution of an entirely new civilization for the one they had had for centuries. This difference of civilization means again that knowledge takes the place of ignorance and liberty the place of oppression. A difference in the civilization involves, at the root of the matter, a difference in the prevalent ideas. The difference between old Japan and New Japan, between the China that now is and the China that is soon to be, is at bottom due to a host of new ideas that have come in and are coming in all the time; ideas of liberty, equality and popular rights; ideas of the value of the individual, of the dignity of woman, of the purity of the family life. Let me give you one or two instances of the operation of these new ideas.

Only forty years ago, if a young "samurai" had purchased a new sword and wished to try the edge, he needed only to go out into the country and find a man of the lowest caste and cut off his head. This was called "Tameshi-giri," and was frequently practiced. The idea of the value of every human being came in with our Christian civilization, and today the life of every man is protected by the law.

Up to the year 1899 a father could sell his daughter into a life of shame and if she tried to escape from the

brothel the police would bring her back. In that year an American missionary successfully appealed to the new ideas of the right of personal liberty and of the dignity of women, embodied in the revised statutes of Japan, and now it is impossible to bind a young woman legally to a life of sin.

Sad as is the loss of Korean nationality from the standpoint of national feeling, there is no doubt that the common people of Korea are better off than they were under their own rulers. When I passed through that country last spring one of the missionaries, who was not particularly friendly to Japan, said that the terrible tales of injustice suffered by the common people at the hands of their own Korean tax collectors were no longer heard. Farmers in Korea are not now afraid to make a little money, for there are no greedy officials waiting to rob them of it.

Let me call your attention also to the channel through which these new ideas are coming into the Far East. If we compare these ideas themselves to the water which irrigates a desert, transforming it from a scene of barrenness and desolation into one of fertility and beauty, what shall we liken to the aqueduct, through which the water is conveyed? This is nothing else than language, for ideas are carried through written and spoken words. In two ways it may be said that God has given and is giving a new language to the Far East. In the first place by giving them a new learned language. In the old order of things the classic language of China was the common language of educated men in the Far East. In the new order

of affairs it is English. More than one hundred thousand young men in Japan are studying the English language as the chief thing in their education. Last spring an item appeared in the papers that was hardly noticed by the press, but that was really of the highest significance. It was that by Imperial Edict the government of China had ordered that henceforth all schools of middle and higher grade should teach English. This is beyond question the greatest event in the history of the English language.

To make the significance of such an order clear let us suppose for a moment that the language chosen had been Portuguese. In that case a great many Portuguese teachers would have to be sent for to come and teach that tongue, and the natural result would be that along with the Portuguese words, the educated Chinese would get their heads filled with Portuguese ideas, and that they would presently understand and sympathize with Portugal better than with any other nation. Precisely the same result has been worked out in Japan and will be the result in Korea and China within another thirty or forty years, only the language, instead of being Catholic Portuguese is Protestant English. No man can pretend to any standing as a scholar in the Far East of the future who is ignorant of the English language. Even now it is no uncommon, as it is certainly a most significant experience, to see an educated Chinaman and an educated Japanese conversing together on the deck of a steamer—in the English language.

There is, however, another and still more signifi-

cant side to this language problem. It is the effect which this incoming of the English language with its Christian ideas has upon the native tongues. Nothing is more striking than the great change which the Japanese language has undergone since the introduction of Western thought. It is not only that there have come into use a great many words that were unknown before, such as "duty," "rights," "responsibility," etc., but that the old words have their meanings greatly enlarged. For example, take the Japanese word meaning God, "Kami," or the one meaning love, "ai." These words, in the old Japan, had very much lower meanings than we associate with the words. "Kami" did not, by any means, mean the infinite and only creator, but at most one of the deceased emperors. But the word God had to be translated in the classroom and explained to the students. There was no other word to use but "Kami," but after the explanation of that word it no longer meant what it had meant formerly, it was remembered as the rendering of the English word "God," and carried all the meaning that the English word possesses. So the old word "Kami" is really a new word, or rather a word new born, for there is a second birth of words as well as of men. So it is with the word, "ai," love, and so it is with a large number of words. Between the new words that have been introduced and the old words that have new meanings, it is said by the Japanese that a well educated man of fifty years ago would be quite unable to understand the language that is spoken in educated circles to-day.

The result is that God is practically making the nations of the world of one language and one speech. The sound of the words and the construction of the sentences may be different, but that is of little importance if only the ideas are the same. One man may say "Kami" and another "God;" let them; it is no matter, so long as they mean the same thing. So what we see in the Far East to-day is really the reversal in the profoundest sense of the miracle of Babel. God is removing the barriers that separated the nations and is making them again and in reality of one blood. St. Paul tells us that Christ broke down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, for to make of the twain in himself one new man, that is, *one new humanity*. That is exactly what he is doing today in the Far East—breaking down the middle wall of partition between the East and the West, for to make of the twain in Himself one new humanity. Oh, the wonder of it, that this great divine process is going on before our eyes, and that we may look upon it!

There is yet a greater thing! We have compared the old Far East to a barren desert and the new language to God's aqueduct, flooding that barren soil with the fertilizing ideas of a Christian civilization. One more thing is required, and that is good seed, for neither in soil nor in water is there life, they only supply the conditions under which the life can develop. What is the seed?

The good seed are the children of the kingdom! The word of God, yet not that word abstractly, but as embodied in consecrated lives, as proclaimed by

sanctified lives, and as perpetuated in divine institutions—this is the seed from which the harvest of God is to spring. We may, therefore, fitly compare the work of God in the Far East to that of a husbandman. He has broken up the hard surface of the soil by mighty political upheavals, and by the sharp plowshares of war and revolution; He has watered it by a flood of new ideas, and He finally casts into the field thus prepared the seed of the missionary work.

This work was begun in the Far East more than a hundred years ago, for the work of Robert Morrison, in 1807, is generally accepted as the beginning of the Protestant missionary work in that land, but all the remarkable developments have taken place in the period we have undertaken to review, and, indeed, in the latter part of this period. Missionary work in Japan began in 1859, but here also, little was to be seen of any result for many years. In 1870 there were not Japanese Christians enough to count. In 1880 there were three thousand. Ten years later there were thirty thousand, and the number of converts in Japan was about the same as in China, where the missionary work had been going on for eighty years. Then began the period of slower growth in Japan, while that in China was accelerated by the events that followed the war between Japan and China. In the meantime the gospel had entered Korea, and was winning its way with truly wonderful strides. The work was begun in 1884. In the reports of the great missionary conference in London in 1888 that country is hardly men-

tioned. To-day it is one of the most wonderful works of God anywhere to be found.

According to the figures of the Edinburgh Conference, there are now in Japan and Formosa in round numbers 67,000 Communicant Christians, in Korea 57,000 and in China 177,000, making a total of over three hundred thousand souls, representing a Christian community of at least one million. To show you how rapidly this whole work of God has gone forward in the last years, let me remind you that in the year 1886, there were no Christians at all in Korea, and in the whole of the Far East there were only fifty thousand, less than one-sixth of the number now. The increase in twenty-five years has been six hundred per cent. Oh, if we could only enter into the spiritual realities back of these figures, and could count the sins forgiven, the lives changed, the hearts sanctified, the consecrated service rendered, the tears dried, the homes made happy, the idols abandoned, the chains of superstition cast off, the dying sustained, the bereaved comforted and the redeemed welcomed by the angels into the communion of the spirits of the just made perfect, how would then the exceeding greatness of the work of God in the Far East appear to us, and with what grateful hearts should we join in the joy there is in the presence of the angels over so many that have repented and returned to the Father's house!

But there is something further to notice than the number of souls redeemed, and something even more important than this, for as the body is more than the members, so is the establishment of the Christian

Church a greater event than any number of individual conversions. If we look at the matter in that light, the events of the transformation of the Far East appear of the highest historic importance. It is characteristic of the kingdom of God that the events connected with its history invariably fail to attract the attention of the world when they occur, and with equal regularity are seen to have been the most significant and important events of the age, when the final verdict of history is made up.

Just as now the public men of the world pay little attention to the feeble efforts of a few fanatics to introduce their exploded superstitions into the ancient nations of the Far East, so the learned men of Greece and Rome either were entirely ignorant of the beginnings of Christianity in those countries, or considered the matter as beneath their notice; yet who that has a particle of the historic spirit would not love to get an inside view of the beginnings of a movement so mighty and would not cherish above all else the privilege of having had a share in it? It is the peculiar privilege of our generation that it has spread out before it the beginnings of the Christian Church in Asia, beginnings of a future certain to be not less significant than that which developed in Europe, and conducted so far as we now can judge, on a far grander scale.

The church as a body with independent and self-sustaining life, has attained a higher degree of development in Japan than in either China or Korea. In Japan we really have already a self-governing, self-sustaining, self-propagating church, one that is grow-

ing from its own root, a tree bearing fruit, whose seed is in itself. When I started from Japan I left the country on April 28th, but not till several days later did I pass beyond the borders of the Japanese church, for in Fusan, Seoul, Pyeng Yang and Antung I found Christian churches for the Japanese. Besides those I saw, they were to be found in Peking and Port Arthur, and Dalny and Tientsin, and Shanghai, and other ports of China. Finally, when I was bidding farewell to the brethren at Antung they told me they had telegraphed to the brethren further along the line of the railway to meet us at the station, and really, the next day, in the very heart of the Manchurian mountains a few brethren came to the station to meet us, entirely unknown to us, as we were to them, either by personal acquaintance or by reputation, but bound together by the common faith and the loving fellowship of the redeemed in Christ. To me, this constant presence of the Christian church wherever a little group of Japanese were settled, was the most significant and cheering thing I had seen for years, for so far as I knew not in a single case had the church in any such place been started with American money or by the work of American missionaries.

The Korean church, as an organization is not so well developed as the one in Japan, but far excels it in the vigor and fervor and zeal of its young life. It is easy to get an exaggerated idea of its progress. It is not true to say that well-nigh the entire population has come under the influence of the gospel, for the communicants number only one in 263 of the popula-

tion, and even with a generous calculation hardly more than one million of the fifteen millions in that land can be considered as in any sense under the influence of the church. Nevertheless, there is no more inspiring sight than to attend the services in a Korean church and to see a thousand or more gathered to worship God. The growth of the church in Korea is certainly one of the miracles of missions.

I am not personally acquainted with the church in China, but its history during the past years, especially since the Boxer troubles, when the church in North China received its baptism of fire, is not less marvellous than that of Korea. In Manchuria, in Foochow, in Central China, and in other places there have been outpourings of the Holy Spirit as notable as many of the famous passages in the history of the early church. If the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, then a more abundant harvest is to be expected in China than in Japan or Korea, for the Chinese church alone in the Far East has been called upon to seal its confession with the blood of its noblest sons.

I have tried to tell you something of the things God is doing in the Far East, but as I come to the end of my address I am oppressed by a sense of failure. To some extent I am able to feel the greatness and the passion of it myself, for I have spent nearly twenty years in that section of the world, and every one of these years has unfolded its own page in the wonderful panorama of the history that is making there, but

how should I be able to communicate this vision to you, who have only the hearing of the ear?

As I look back over the great historic crises of the past; over the rise of ancient empires in Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria; over the great Aryan migrations that peopled Europe; over the wars of Alexander and the rise of the Roman Empire; over the Christianization of Europe or the great days of the Crusades; over the Reformation, the Renaissance, or the discovery of America; over the founding of our own great Republic or the onward march of freedom and light in Europe in the nineteenth century, nowhere do I discover an epoch—barring only the days of our Lord and His apostles—when the movement of History was on so grand a scale or was pregnant with greater possibilities of good to the future of the race.

Oh, when I think of these things I wonder that young men can bear to stay at home; that they do not hear the bugles of the Lord sounding the charge or see the hands of the Future beckoning to them to come and have a share in such a work at such a time! I wonder that the whole church is not singing with a throbbing heart:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
Be swift to answer Him, my soul—
Be jubilant, my feet!

Let me close by quoting the words of Robert E. Speer: "No history has even been greater than that which is making now. Our times are prosaic only to men of prosaic minds. The romance that hangs over

Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes, over Jenghis Kahn and his sons, over Saracen Mogul and Sikh—is as the play of children beside the stern struggle of our own day in Asia. Systems of thought and morals and social customs which were old before we were peoples, and which had set themselves never to be moved, have been challenged and shaken. Commerce, Diplomacy, Civilization, have violated their repose. Righteousness has demanded a reckoning of them. And Christianity, of which these are the children, is calmly confronting them from foundations which cannot be moved, while new foundations are laid for her on their enlarging ruins. It is a privilege to live with open eyes in the age of such a conflict, to hear the tumult of the chariots and the horsemen, and to discern in all the master hand of God."

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